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L. Cherubini

210 k. 244.



CHERUBINI:

Memorials

ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS LIFE.

By EDWARD BELLASIS,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES,

Portman Street and Paternoster Row.

1874.

210. k. 244.

[redacted]

PREFACE.

THE idea of undertaking this work was suggested to me by the circumstance that the information hitherto published about Cherubini lies for the most part scattered in pamphlets, periodicals, and dictionaries. My main object, therefore, has been to bring together the facts of his life. I hope that in quoting from the various criticisms that have been from time to time made upon the composer's productions, as well as in venturing to express some opinions of my own, chiefly where others have not spoken, I have adopted a course that will commend itself to the judgment of my musical readers. They must not expect to find in the present memoir that fulness of description and that scientific treatment in detail which are essential to any thoroughly adequate review of compositions so elaborate and magnificent as are those of Cherubini. I may add, that where I am not strictly biographical it has been my aim to be brief, the continuity of the narrative being

necessarily more or less interrupted by the discussion of Operas and Masses.

I proceed to subjoin in chronological order a list of my principal authorities:

L. Cherubini. Published by E. W. Fritzsch, Leipsic, in 12mo. Containing a lengthened critique on *Les Deux Journées*, and forwarded to me as the anonymous work entitled *Luigi Cherubini: Seine Kurze Biografie und ästhetische Darstellung seiner Werke.* (Erfurt, 1809, in 8vo, by T. E. F. Arnold, who died in 1812.) I have therefore referred to the work published at Leipsic as Arnold's, but I have since seen the *Kurze Biografie* in time to correct in this place my mistaken references to the latter work, which contains notices of the *Medea*, *Elisa*, *Les Deux Journées*, *Lodoïska*, *Anacréon*, *Faniska*, and the *Cintura d'Armida*.

Choron and Fayolle's *Dictionnaire Historique des Musiciens.* 1810-11-17, Paris. The information concerning Cherubini in this work was furnished by the composer himself.

Biographie des Hommes vivants. 1816-17, Paris. With a notice of Cherubini signed A.

Biographie Nouvelle des Contemporains. Paris, 1821-22.

The Harmonicon for 1825. London. Containing a notice, and list of Cherubini's operas, &c.

Dictionnaire de la Conversation. 1834, Paris. With a notice of Cherubini by Castil-Blaze.

Biographie Universelle et Portative des Contemporains. 1834, Paris.

Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde. 1835, Paris. With a notice of Cherubini by Edme François Antoine Miel, of the Institute.

Louis de Loménie's *Contemporains Illustres*, which contains a notice of Cherubini identical, I believe, with that published separately by the author under the title of *Cherubini, par un Homme de Rien.* 1841, Paris, in 12mo.

Miel's *Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Cherubini.* 1842, Paris, in 8vo. This was first of all published in the *Moniteur Universel* for August 24th, 25th, and 29th, 1842, the author afterwards consenting to its publication in a separate form at the request of a number of artistes, who had heard him deliver it as a lecture. It also forms part of a history of French art, closing a chapter on the Conservatoire.

Charles Place's *Essai sur la Composition Musicale. Biographie et Analyse Phrénologique de Cherubini, avec notes et plan cranioscopique.* 1842, Paris, in 8vo. This was read at the séance of the Phrenological Society of Paris on the 27th May 1842. Place was a phrenological doctor, exiled at Brussels after the Coup d'Etat of 1851, and is so taken up with his examination of Cherubini's cranium[1] that he leaves little room for his biography, which, he informs us, is in great measure derived from that of M. Adam, in the journal *La France Musicale*, while, for several communications, he is indebted to MM. A. Gourdin, Boieldieu the younger, and Pilati.

Luigi Picchianti's *Notizie sulla Vita e sulle Opere di Luigi Cherubini.* 1843, Milano, and 1844, Firenze. This is, perhaps, the most trustworthy account of our composer. The author, the celebrated guitarist, says, in his advertisement, that he obtained his facts from lives issued, in France and Italy, during the lifetime, and after the death of Cherubini, through persons connected with the composer's family; and, also, by means of personal investigations at Florence.

Cherubini's *Notice des Manuscrits Autographes de la Musique composée par feu M. L. C. Z. S. Cherubini, ex-surintendant de la Musique du Roi, Directeur du Conservatoire de Musique, Commandeur de l'Ordre Royale de la Legion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut de France, etc. etc. etc.; Catalogue Général par ordre chronologique des ouvrages composés par moi Marie-Louis-Charles-Zenobi*[2]*-Salvador-Cherubini, né à Florence le* 14 *Septembre de l'année* 1760. 1843, Paris, 8vo. Edited by Bottée de Toulmon, librarian of the Conservatoire, and published with the sanction of Cherubini's family, who were about to dispose of the composer's manuscripts. Here we have a faithful record, by Cherubini himself, of nearly all his compositions, dating from 1773 to 1841. A supplement is added of works not in the catalogue, of duplicate MSS. mostly in the composer's own handwriting, and of copies by

[1] Place endeavours to show that the organs of veneration, affection, courage, breadth, melody, order, firmness, construction, esteem of oneself, &c. were strongly developed in Cherubini; those of colour, form, language, destructiveness, love of country, &c. less so; whilst there was an almost total absence of idealism, justice, and benevolence!

[2] This name is spelt 'Zanobi' in the certificates of birth and baptism independently procured by Picchianti and Gamucci.

him of works of various composers. Following upon the mention of many pieces are notes by their author, the worth of which, as of the whole catalogue, must be great to any biographer of Cherubini.

Michaud's *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne.* Paris, 1844. Contains a notice of Cherubini, and list of his chief works, by J. A. de Lafage, of the Institute.

Halévy's *Etudes sur la Vie et les Travaux de Cherubini.* Paris, of which I have seen large extracts only, principally in Pougin's notice of Halévy. Halévy's work first appeared in the *Moniteur des Arts*, of the 23d and 30th of March, and the 18th of May 1845, under the title of *Etudes sur Cherubini.* Halévy, who divides Cherubini's life into four unequal parts, never lived to complete his work. M. Léon Halévy remarks that this is the less to be regretted, since, while the first portion throws a vivid light on the least-known phase of Cherubini's life, viz. his early career in his native country, the other intended parts, in giving the later facts, would only have been telling us what we already know. Still Pougin tells us that, for his part, he deplores not having the disciple's opinion on the great works of the master. 'It is certain,' says he, 'that the pages of Halévy which we possess, touching Cherubini, are precious in more than one respect; . . they are an eloquent pleading in favour of the master's genius, which was at times misunderstood.'

Castil-Blaze's *Théâtres Lyriques de Paris. L'Académie Impériale de Musique. Histoire Littéraire, musicale, chorégraphique . . . de* 1645 *à* 1855. 2 vols., Paris, 1855, in 8vo.

M. Girod, S.J., *De la Musique Religieuse.* 1855, Namur, in 8vo; the last chapter of which is devoted to Cherubini.

Nouvelle Biographie Générale. 1856, Paris. With a notice of Cherubini by Dieudonné Denne-Baron, at the end of which is mentioned, as an authority, Raoul Rochette's *Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Cherubini*, which is nothing less than the 'éloge' of Cherubini delivered at the Institute.

Adolphe Adam's *Derniers Souvenirs d'un Musicien.* 1859, Paris, in 12mo; containing a sketch of Cherubini.

Elwart's *Histoire de la Société des Concerts.* Paris, 1860.

Dieudonné Denne-Baron's *Mémoires Historiques d'un Musicien. Cherubini, sa Vie, ses Travaux, leur Influence sur l'Art.* 1862, Paris, in 8vo. To some extent taken from Miel.

The Musical World for 1862, London; which contains the

most important account in English of Cherubini, being principally a translation from the German, by Mr. J. V. Bridgeman, of a notice in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung.*

Theodore Nisard's *Notice of Cherubini.* 1867, Paris, Le Mans, in 4to.

Fétis' *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens.* 1867, Paris, in 8vo, 8 vols. Much of the notice of Cherubini in this well-known work is to be found in some previous 'études,' published by Fétis.

Clément's *Musiciens Célèbres.* 1868, Paris, in 8vo. With a portrait and notice of Cherubini.

Baldassarre Gamucci's *Intorno alla Vita ed alle Opere di Luigi Cherubini, Fiorentino, ed al monumento ad esso innalzato in Santa Croce. Cenni biografici.* 1869, Firenze, in 8vo. Gamucci was a pupil of Picchianti, and gives us a minute account of the raising of the monument to Cherubini at Florence.

Berlioz's *Mémoires.* 1870, Paris.

In the course of the narrative, reference is made to more recent notices of Cherubini, and to other various works from which I have been able to gather interesting facts and observations. From some writings, however, I have received such special assistance as seems to call for corresponding acknowledgment—I refer gratefully to the late Henry F. Chorley's *Modern German Music,* Professor Ella's *Musical Sketches,* the *Letters of Mendelssohn,* the *Life of Moscheles,* the *Autobiography of Spohr,* and the *Monthly Musical Record.*

In the collection of funeral orations by members of the French Institute two speeches of Cherubini have been found, one of which has been partly given in English in Mainzer's *Musical Times.* Some hitherto

unpublished letters of Cherubini have been also inserted, as to which my only regret is that they are not more numerous and important. It is, however, obvious that anything like a collection of Cherubini's letters, if ever published at all, should emanate from France.

In conclusion, I desire to thank those friends who have not only encouraged me in my task, but have supplied me with some information which I could not otherwise have obtained.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 5, line 7 from top, *for* Adolph *read* Adolphe.
,, 11, ,, 18 ,, ,, Austria ,, Germany.
,, 22, ,, 15 ,, ,, depende ,, dipende.
,, 24, note ,, Turin ,, Italy.
,, 64, line 23 ,, ,, 10th of August *read* anniversary of the 10th of August.
,, 389, note (Catalogue) ,, 207 *read* 210.



PART I.

THEATRICAL MUSIC.

1760–1808.

CHAPTER I.

1760–1780.

Cherubini's birth and parentage—He is taught music by his father, and, subsequently, by the two Felicis—His early compositions—He is placed under Bizzarri and Castrucci—Receives a pension from Leopold II., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, to study under Sarti at Bologna—Sarti's method of teaching—Cherubini has to compose anthems in Palestrina's style—He inserts airs in Sarti's operas—Removes with his master to Milan, and intermits his regular studies.

LUIGI CARLO ZANOBI SALVADORE MARIA CHERUBINI, 'the last and noblest Roman in the purely classical style of art'[1]—'the most accomplished musician, if not the greatest genius, of the nineteenth century'[2]—was born at Florence, in the early morning of the 14th day of September 1760—one year and a half after Handel's death, when Mozart was a child of four years, and ten years before the birth of Beethoven. On the following day he was baptised at the Basilica of St. John the Baptist. Such are the dates of birth and baptism as recorded by the official certificates from Florence.[3] Cherubini, therefore, was right in the date of his birth as he himself inserted

[1] Baillot. [2] Oulibischeff. [3] See Appendix I.

it on the title-page of his catalogue; and wrong in the date, September the 8th, which he sent to Choron, in 1809, for the latter's *Dictionnaire Historique.* Cherubini's error has naturally misled his biographers. In 1834, Castil-Blaze invented a solution of the problem. The 8th of September was the day of birth; the 14th that of baptism. This postponement of baptism, so unusual in Italy, was accounted for by Cherubini's extreme weakliness, his life being despaired of, a circumstance which would be a reason for hastening the ceremony. Miel—not in 1835, but in 1842—adopts Castil-Blaze's theory. Picchianti says that many of the biographers followed Gervasoni, a Milanese professor, who, according to Gamucci, originated the error, which was corrected by the *Rivista Musicale* of Florence appealing to the registers. Picchianti further states that he himself corrected Miel's error by adding a note, among others, to the translation in the number of the *Rivista* for April the 11th, 1842, of a life of Cherubini that originally appeared in the *Revue et Gazette de Paris* for the 11th of March 1842. In 1842, Picchianti cleared up the difficulty, as he tells us, by paying a franc for copies of two certificates; yet Denne-Baron, in 1862, gives us the wrong date, as well as Castil-Blaze's theory, and adds that Cherubini corrected the mistake of the catalogue date in some notes which the composer

left behind him! Nisard cannot explain to what notes Denne-Baron alludes; nor, it is to be feared, any one else. All that we know is, that the catalogue date is correct, in conformity with the certificate of birth. Lafage also informs us that the 14th is an error. Arnold, writing in 1809, Place in 1842, Adolph Adam in 1859, Clément in 1868, and many others, give the wrong date. Fétis, writing in 1867, twenty-five years after Picchianti's correction, mentions both dates, without saying which is the true one. In his *Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Gerber is four years wrong, assigning Cherubini's birth to the year 1764.

Cherubini's father, Bartolomeo Cherubini, son of Mark Cherubini, was *maëstro al clavicembalo*, or harpsichord accompanist at the Pergola Theatre, Florence, and lived in a modest cottage on the Via Fiesolana, in the quarter of San Pier Maggiore, which bears on its door the street number of 22, and formerly had the district number of 6886. The name of Cherubini's mother was Verdiana; she was the daughter of one Philippo Bosi. Both of his parents were by birth Florentines, and he himself was the tenth child out of a family of twelve, all of whom he survived. From his earliest childhood he is said to have shown a quick and superior intelligence; but nothing specific is known about him until his seventh year, so

that whether he distinguished discords from his cradle, or sang beautifully at the age of three, cannot be clearly ascertained. In the notice at the head of his catalogue, he says: 'J'ai commencé à apprendre la musique à six ans, et la composition à neuf ans; la première m'a été apprise par Barthélemi Cherubini, mon père, professeur de musique; mes deux premiers maîtres de la seconde furent Barthélemi Felici et Alexandre Felici, son fils. Après leur mort, j'eus pour maîtres Pierre Bizzarri et Joseph Castrucci.[4] Vers l'année 1777 ou 1778, j'obtins une pension du Grand-Duc Léopold pour continuer mes études, et me perfectionner sous le célèbre Joseph Sarti, avec lequel j'ai travaillé pendant trois ou quatre ans. C'est par les conseils et les leçons de ce grand maître que je me suis formé dans le contrepoint, et dans la musique dramatique. Etant auprès de lui, il me faisait composer pour m'exercer, et le soulager dans ses travaux, tous les airs des seconds rôles dans les opéras qu'il composait. Ces morceaux, qui n'ont point paru sous mon nom, ne se trouvent point dans le présent catalogue, et je n'en possède aucun; ils se trouvent épars dans les différentes partitions de mon maître.' Fétis, Clément, and others say that Cherubini learnt music from his father

[4] The *Musical World*, in translating this notice, omits this sentence. Vide vol. xl.

before he was six. Cherubini does not say so. Remarking on Cherubini's uncertainty as to the year in which he went to Bologna, Fétis adds, in opposition to many of the biographers, that Cherubini really left for that city towards the end of 1777. A little further on, he says that our composer obtained his pension in 1778.[5] If so, the latter year would seem more likely to be the one in which Cherubini went to Bologna. Moreover, all his works up to 1778, exclusively, are marked in the catalogue 'Florence;' and in a note to the section for 1778 (not 1777) he says, 'At this time I was at Bologna.'

In his musical teaching, Bartolomeo Cherubini, according to Picchianti, was much attached to old forms, and a rigid observer of the ancient scholastic discipline. Yet, in spite of any disadvantages thence accruing, young Cherubini was able in three years, from the age of six to that of nine, to acquire a fair knowledge of *solfeggi* and accompaniment of figured basses, as well as of playing the harpsichord; and it is also recorded how that he found at home a wretched old violin, and amused himself with scraping on it, until one evening at the Pergola Theatre, a violinist being absent from the orchestra, Cherubini quietly took his place, and played the part throughout so well, that all that Nardino, the con-

[5] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 204.

ductor, had to find fault with was a certain timidity and hesitation, only natural at first under the circumstances. In the mean time Cherubini did not neglect the higher studies of mathematics and languages. At length, being considerably advanced, for his age, in his musical studies, he was placed by his father under 'old Felici,' so called to distinguish him from his son Alessandro, also an artist of merit. Old Felici's works were a model of clearness and ingenuity; he himself was deemed the best Tuscan professor of his day, while his school enjoyed no mean reputation. 'At this time,' observes, however, Picchianti, 'the art of counterpoint was lost in a multitude of rules and observations, each of which, being drawn from particular cases, and not from general principles, gave rise to a thousand exceptions. To master all these rules, and their innumerable limitations, long and wearisome labour had to be undergone.' Thus we can appreciate Cherubini's rapid intelligence, which in four years under the Felicis could master, in boyhood, those contrapuntal studies in which it was not given to every one to succeed, though he employed double the time. 'But this,' continues Picchianti, 'is not the only point worth commending in Cherubini; there is one still more worthy of consideration, viz. that he knew through a just criterion—through his genius and exquisite

taste—how to draw from those dry exercises the greatest profit which a composer can derive from his studies, *i. e.* how to form his artistic individuality. And, in fact, besides the elegant and original forms, the clearness and purity of style, always employed by him even in his most trifling and least important pieces, there ever appeared something of an antique cast, whence he derives an absolute specialty, which may be considered as the most precious result of his early scholastic studies.'[6]

After frequenting Felici's school for four years, Cherubini began to compose. In 1773, heading his catalogue, comes a mass, the performance of which excited some interest,—and this so pleased his father that the latter often adopted it for his own use,—and then an intermezzo for a 'théâtre de société' in Florence. These works were followed, in 1774, by a second mass; a cantata, *La Pubblica Felicità*, executed in a side chapel of the Duomo, on occasion of a fête in honour of the Grand-Duke; and a psalm. In 1775 come a third mass, a psalm, an intermezzo entitled *Il Giuocatore*, and a Magnificat; in 1776, two Lamentations of Jeremiah, a Miserere, a rondeau, a duet, and an *aria buffa;* in 1777, a motet, an oratorio, the name of which is not known, but which was executed in St. Peter's Church, Florence, and a Te Deum.

[6] Picchianti, p. 14.

These works are here mentioned, not for the sake of inserting in the narrative a catalogue, which comes better in an appendix, but because they distinctly form what may be called Cherubini's juvenile works. Picchianti tells us that the Florentine composer's force of intellect might be seen in his early works. As regards many of them, we must take his word for it, since in the catalogue they have the cross before them, signifying the loss of the MS. Cherubini concealed with great care all his works written when he was thirteen; but when he was dead, his pupil Halévy could not resist the desire of perusing them. He did so: he glanced at these timid essays, and tells us, 'In going over them, I understood how it was from a sort of self-respect and caution as to his first works that he withdrew them from all eyes. Everything there announced the intelligent child, brought up in a good school, reared on good precepts; but there was nothing to indicate the genius which was to reveal itself later on.'

A composer in Italy first learns to sing himself before writing for the voice, and Cherubini now proceeded to acquire the art under Bizzarri. But Cherubini's lessons in singing had not the effect of inducing him in his compositions to show much mercy to the voice. Eventually he took to singing bass, and often spared neither soprano nor contralto. From Bizzarri

he went to Castrucci, under whom he mastered the organ and harpsichord. His progress was rapid. His compositions pleased both the public and the connoisseur. He was pointed at in the streets of Florence as a prodigy, but no flattery could turn his head. He wanted to travel through Italy, so as to perfect himself in his art, and become personally known to musicians — a wish which his father's friends advised should be acceded to.

Lafage says, that from information which he obtained at Florence, he believes that Cherubini travelled with one Disma Ugolini; although, he adds, the latter is not mentioned among Cherubini's masters. What the other biographers tell us is that Bartolomeo Cherubini had no means of maintaining away from home a lad between fifteen and sixteen years of age. Peter Leopold II., Grand-Duke of Tuscany, and afterwards Emperor of Austria, had, however, noticed young Cherubini, and admired his talent; and now offered, at his own expense, to send him to study at Bologna. This Leopold did the more willingly on hearing that Cherubini was the son of poor but respectable parents. Such was the generosity that enabled Cherubini to seek out the great Giuseppe Sarti de Faënza, whose reputation at this time throughout Italy was immense, by whom he was cordially welcomed, and who on ex-

amining him, perceived that he needed but practice to be able to compose dramatic music. Cherubini's quickness of intelligence soon made him the favourite pupil of all. Under Sarti, Cherubini had to abandon Leo and Durante for Palestrina; of whom Sarti was an enthusiastic disciple, but for whom, says Girod, Cherubini had little liking. Indeed, it was not till after many years that the latter realised how important to all composers of church-music was the study of Palestrina. Of course, he now obeyed his master in everything, even writing twenty anthems in the style of the old Roman composer. Sarti had a great notion about the ideal style in music, as Palestrina had before him, and, to further this among his pupils, made them imitate him in composing at night in a large unfurnished room, with a lamp suspended from the ceiling, that shed only a glimmering light; though how this could also avail for teaching dramatic music does not appear. Another feature in Sarti's teaching was writing out works of the old composers, a practice which Cherubini kept up throughout his life, leaving at his death 3166 pages of MS. of this nature. Sarti soon reposed such confidence in Cherubini's ability as to allow him to practise himself in dramatic music by writing the secondary airs, or interpolating recitatives, in *Le Sirol*, *Achille in Sciro*,

Giulio Sabino, and other operas, which were represented under their author's direction, with the assistance of Cherubini, at Bologna, Venice, Florence, Milan, and Turin. Sarti often made his pupils compose thus in his operas, so that they obtained experience in writing for the public, and under cover of their master's name, gained an applause which was as encouraging as it was useful. 'These scores,' says Denne-Baron, 'contain a crowd of beauties by Cherubini.' The insertion of these airs, however, was the beginning of a custom which became habitual with Cherubini up to 1792, viz. of putting music of his own into the Italian operas and pasticcios of Paisiello and his school; thus many fine pieces became allied to works that no longer live. If a work proved too heavy for the public taste, Cherubini had to make it light, but if a work cannot stand by itself on its own merits, the sooner it falls, perhaps, the better.

In 1779, Fioroni, chapel-master of Milan Cathedral, died, and Sarti, being chosen for the vacant post, moved with Cherubini to Milan, where, in the following year, the latter wrote his sonata for two organs, and intermitted, some say ended, his regular studies, which, in the course of eleven years, had now succeeded in making him, at the age of nineteen, one of the most learned musicians of Italy.

For years had he worked on, before there were short roads to proficiency, to acquire that thorough knowledge of music, which he, if any one, possessed. Yet it is rather his industry than the length of his studies which is remarkable, for an Italian musical education in the middle of the eighteenth century was naturally a slow process. Eleven years would not be necessary at the present day for a clever pupil to gain all the knowledge that Cherubini acquired in that time. Fétis reckons that, what with the method of analysis, and with progressive exercises, half that time would now be sufficient. The same writer observes that the method of analysis has always been unknown in the musical schools of Italy. The masters furnished the pupil with model compositions, but they could not explain the origin of, or the reasons for, the rules which they prescribed. 'To the questions and objections of their pupils,' says Fétis, 'they knew but one reply: the authority of the school. . . . . Taught by them Cherubini was only able to acquire, after long practice, his marvellous knowledge of all the points relating to forms of style, tonality, rhythm, and modulation. Himself a perfect master, when it came to showing by an example the application of a precept, he could hardly ever find an explanation of the precept itself. Woe to the pupil who did not understand him by a half-

word, for the whole word rarely came. This difficulty of speech concerning matters with which he was so familiar became painful to him: it put him in a bad humour with the pupil who occasioned him this embarrassment.'[7] In fact, in teaching, neither Cherubini nor his masters could explain why this or that was so; all they knew was that it ought to be so, a knowledge which satisfied them, if not their pupils.

[7] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 263.

CHAPTER II.

1780–1788.

Il Quinto Fabio, Cherubini's first opera, produced at Alessandria, and followed by *Armida* at Florence, *Adriano* at Leghorn, *Il Messenzio* at Florence, *Quinto Fabio* at Rome, *Lo Sposo di Tre* at Venice, *L'Idalide* at Florence, and *L'Alessandro* at Mantua—He goes to London and brings out *La Finta Principessa* and *Giulio Sabino*—Is introduced to the Prince of Wales—Visits Paris—Is presented by Viotti to Queen Marie Antoinette—Returns to England—Proceeds to Turin—Produces *Ifigenia*—Leaves Italy for good, and finally settles in Paris.

In 1780, Sarti procured for Cherubini a commission to write an opera at Alessandria della Paglia, where, at the autumnal fair, he brought out *Il Quinto Fabio*, in three acts, of which he says with some pride: 'C'est mon premier opéra, j'avais alors dix-neuf ans accomplis.' Fétis, and the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* see a mistake here, thinking that 'dix-neuf' ought to be 'vingt,' but unless it can be shown (which has not been so much as attempted) that *Quinto Fabio* was produced on or after the 14th of September 1780, Cherubini may be right. His twentieth year would not be completed till that date. *Il Quinto Fabio* had no particular success, and Cherubini returned to Milan, to write five airs for an opera given there, as

well as a motet for Marchesi, a celebrated singer, and another entitled 'Nemo gaudeat' for two choirs and two organs. From Milan he proceeded to Venice, where he was to have written another opera, but on his arrival found that the manager who had engaged him had become bankrupt. Fortunately for Cherubini two numbers only of the intended work had been composed. He now returned to Florence, and in 1782 produced there *Armida*, a three-act opera, which was given during the carnival at the Pergola. Cherubini's powerful style, his studied and complicated harmonies as displayed in his operas, were not to the taste of the Italians, who were only accustomed to light melodies and simple accompaniments. People were afraid of him, for the evidence of originality displayed in his compositions might do considerable harm to their beloved cantilenas and fioriture.[1]

In the spring, closely following upon *Armida*, another three-act opera, *Adriano in Siria*, appeared from him, performed at the opening of a new concert-hall at Leghorn, to which an air was added for Crescentini, who sang in the work. Fétis, in his account of Crescentini, says that that vocalist sang in Cherubini's *Artaserse*.[2] Cherubini wrote no opera of that name; Fétis means *Adriano in Siria;* and the

[1] Ignaz Arnold, p. 6. [2] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 390.

judgment of the people of Leghorn was, that the music was 'too learned.' Returning to Florence, Cherubini wrote ten nocturns, six of which, curiously enough, were first printed in London, in 1786, with a dedication, in Italian, to Signor Corsi, a Florentine nobleman, Marquis of Caiazzo, Lord of Dugenta, Millazzano, and Raiano of Castelle, and Chamberlain to the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany, which runs as follows: 'In case this slight work of mine, which I take the liberty of offering to you, should possess sufficient merit to be kindly received by your generous mind, and, further, to meet with sincere approval from your most refined taste, I shall have reason to flatter myself that it may appear not wholly unpleasing in the eyes of the public, which knows too well your mastery of the fine arts, especially of music, not to conform its judgment to yours. But howsoever it may please you, noble sir, to judge me, I shall at least have the satisfaction afforded me by my work of a favourable opportunity for showing you, so far as I can, the sincere and most just esteem which I entertain for the amiable qualities that render you very dear to all, and at the same time be able, in the face of the world, to glory in being, with all the respect which I profess, your devoted servant, L. CHERUBINI.' Such was the dedicatory style of the period.

Some solo pieces were also set to verses of Tasso and Marino, and another three-act opera, *Il Messenzio*, given with success on the 8th of September. Two duets remind us that Cherubini was known at this early period to our countryman, Lord Cowper, for whom he wrote them, with accompaniment for two 'cors d'amour,' otherwise called 'amorshorn,' and 'amorschall'—a kind of horn, invented about 1760, by Kölbal, a Russian musician, the improvements in which consisted of valves, and a semicircular cover upon the opening. This idea of a valve-horn was not pursued further, because the 'iventions-hörnes' (sic), introduced shortly afterwards, were a step towards the end obtained in the ventil-hörner.[3] The above-mentioned nobleman must have been George Nassau Clavering, third Earl Cowper, who appears to have lived many years in Italy, and to have been a great lover of music. He is represented, in a picture by Zoffany (exhibited at South Kensington in 1867), as listening with evident enjoyment to a musical performance by members of his family, one of whom, a lady, plays the harpsichord, while his father-in-law, Mr. Gore, leads or accompanies on the violoncello. An air for Babini, the singer, in a pasticcio called *Semiramide*, and performed at Florence, closes the list of Cherubini's noteworthy works in

[3] *Musical World*, 1862, p. 500.

1782—with the single exception of 1816, the busiest year for him as a composer. In January 1783, he tells us that he 'composed' at Rome a second *Quinto Fabio*, which was brought out there at the Argentina Theatre. This does not favour Fétis' notion, that this *Quinto Fabio* was merely an improved version of the first one; nor Arnold's statement, that *Quinto Fabio* was 'repeated' in Rome. Denne-Baron says that Cherubini, after his engagement at Rome, returned to Florence to give *L'Idalide* there, and then went to Venice for *Lo Sposo di Tre;* but *L'Idalide* was not brought out till after *Lo Sposo*. *Quinto Fabio* was now followed by the canon or madrigal of 'Ninfa Crudele,' which owed its origin to the jealousy of several learned musicians, who were foolish enough to doubt whether Cherubini could solve a musical problem. This, however, at their request, he did, and so well that, as we are told, the piece assured to Cherubini the reputation of being one of the first harmonists of his time. Some say that Cherubini wrote 'Ninfa Crudele' on his way to Florence from Venice, or after arriving there from Venice; in both cases after the production of *Lo Sposo di Tre;* but it is mentioned in Cherubini's catalogue before that opera; hence it may be concluded that it was composed at Florence, before *Lo Sposo di Tre* and the visit to Venice. *Lo Sposo di Tre, Marito di Nessuna*, a

two-act opera-buffa, was represented in the autumn at St. Samuel's Theatre, Venice. The Venetians thought highly of Cherubini, and the *Indice Teatrale* for 1784 advised them to call him 'il cherubino,' adding, 'Toccante meno al suo nome, dalla dolcezza de' suoi canti,' less as in any allusion to his name than because of the sweetness of his songs. But Clément says that the Venetians called him 'il cherubino,' 'in allusion to his handsome face and frizzly hair, more than to the angelic grace of his songs;' and goes on to say, 'We have known charming portraits of Cherubini when young; his features were delicate and pleasing. Later on, intense application, the habit of study, and, it must be said, the cares of strife, profoundly modified the expression of his countenance.'[4]

From Venice, Cherubini, in 1784, made his last journey to Florence. A patched-up oratorio, made up of sundry pieces out of his operas, with a new tenor air and two choruses, was there performed for the benefit of the Jesuits at their church in Florence. So we are told; but the Jesuits could not exist as such between 1769 and 1814. Perhaps they were allowed to live together at Florence as secular priests. I have also been informed that Cherubini was their chapel-master at Naples and Palermo; but

[4] *Musiciens Célèbres*, p. 249.

when could he, busy as he was, have found time to be practically such? Perhaps it was merely an honorary post in each case. No biographer mentions Cherubini's visit at any time either to Naples or Palermo. The oratorio was quickly followed by two operas, *L'Idalide*, the last work that Cherubini wrote for his native city, and which was given with success at the Pergola; and *L'Alessandro nell' Indie*, represented during the spring fair at Mantua. He wrote also, says Arnold, the comic opera of *I Viaggiatori Felici*. Perhaps this was the title of the unfinished comic opera begun at Venice in 1781. Arnold is the only authority for Cherubini having written any such work. Moreover, when he mentions the quartet 'Cara da voi depende,' which was inserted in Anfossi's *I Viaggiatori Felici*, he again calls that work Cherubini's, which leads me to suppose his whole statement an error.[5]

From Mantua, Cherubini went to Milan to see Sarti again, to whom he ascribed whatever successes he had achieved, and under whom, according to Denne-Baron, he once more placed himself, writing excellent fragments of religious music, which are to be found among Sarti's works, but not in Cherubini's catalogue. That Cherubini rejoined Sarti whenever he could do so is asserted by one or two biographers,

[5] Arnold, pp. 6, 11.

and may be believed. Thus we have the positive assertions of Castil-Blaze and Miel, that Cherubini had not broken with Sarti when producing his first opera—a statement which is supported by the fact of Cherubini returning to Milan after *Quinto Fabio* had been brought out, though studies, during such snatch visits as he may have made, must have been prosecuted but desultorily. Both Cherubini and Sarti at this time simultaneously quitted Italy, Sarti proceeding to Russia. By means of the latter's connection with England, where his operas at this period found acceptance, and thanks also to the reputation our composer had acquired, Cherubini received an invitation to visit London professionally. 'I left for London,' he says, 'about the autumn of this year' (1784). On his way thither he passed through Turin, and received a visit from the committee of the Royal Theatre, who asked him to write an opera for them, which he promised to do as soon as his engagement in England was over.

Passing through Paris, where the excitement of the late contest between Glück and Piccinni had scarcely calmed down, he there made the acquaintance of Viotti, one of the best friends whom he ever had, and with whom he kept up a correspondence while in England. Some say that this acquaintance sprang up a little later, on Cherubini's second visit to Paris.

On arriving in London as composer for the Italian Theatre, Cherubini assisted at the Handel Commemoration in Westminster Abbey,[6] in July 1784; and after writing four pieces for a pasticcio entitled *Il Demetrio*, and two more pieces as a contribution to some opera, all of which, sung by Babini and Crescentini, were well received, he brought out *La Finta Principessa*, an opera in two acts, at the Haymarket, with applause.

The state of music in England at this time was, apparently, not very reassuring. Handel had been dead some twenty-five years; and while he had nobly striven to hold his own against Buononcini and the Italians in his operas, and beaten them off the field in his oratorios, yet his influence quickly declined after his death; and though at last people bethought themselves of a Handel Commemoration, it was left to more recent times to set a just store on many of his grandest inspirations. Italian music, when Handel was no more, continued to flourish in England as though it had never known defeat, just as it did in Paris when Glück left. No doubt Paisiello and Cimarosa were far better than Buononcini and Porpora; but native talent was not encouraged by the

[6] I give this on Mr. G. Grove's authority (An. Progr. Overt. *Medea*), though Cherubini, as we have seen (p. 23), writes that he left Turin about the autumn.

preëminence of Italian opera any more than it is at the present day.

In 1786, Cherubini inserted six airs into Paisiello's *Il Marchese Tulipano*, besides others; and Lafage thus remarks upon them: 'The greatest praise that can be given to these pieces is to say that the pieces interpolated sustained without any loss the vicinity of the admirable melodies of Paisiello.' Cherubini became also, it is said, director of a Philharmonic society, and superintended the representation of various works of Cimarosa and Paisiello. According to Picchianti, he was king's musician for two years; but Dr. Burney only mentions him as nominal composer for the year 1787. His reputation admitted him to the society of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., who was delighted with his talent and agreeable voice. The prince was fond of singing, and Cherubini sang at the royal amateur's réunions, as well as at those of William, fourth Duke of Queensberry, who had a particular affection for our composer.

Of the second work produced at the Haymarket—the libretto of which was by Metastasio, and in which, according to the *Harmonicon*, Marchesi made his London début—Dr. Burney[1] remarks: 'His opera of *Giulio Sabino* was murdered in its birth, for want of the necessary support of the capital singers in the prin-

[1] *History of Music*, ed. 1789, vol. iv. p. 527.

cipal parts. Babini, the tenor, being elevated to first man, and the Ferraresi to first woman, were circumstances not likely to prejudice the public in favour of the composer.' Cherubini was much annoyed at the failure of his serious opera, and writes: 'I quitted England about the period of the month of July in this year (1786); I came to Paris,'—accompanied by the singer Babini,—'and established myself there.' Still he had not yet finished with England. The theatrical season for 1786 being over, he took his holiday, and crossed over to the Continent.

At Paris he now composed the cantata *Amphion*, written for the 'Loge Olympique,' but never performed. He had meant, eventually, to rejoin his family in Italy, but being strongly urged by Viotti to remain at Paris, and persuaded into the belief that artists had there a higher position and a better field for action, he gave up his first idea. Viotti presented him to Queen Marie Antoinette, who wished to hear some of our composer's music at the concerts which she gave at Versailles, and who was struck by his superior manner and bearing. Speaking of Cherubini about this time, Halévy says: 'It was a happy era for him, for success flattered him. He had then seen twenty-eight years. A portrait, painted a little after this period, shows him to us graceful and studious in his person, gifted with a

noble and expressive countenance, and with a persuasive air. The world liked him, and he liked the world. He was for a moment all the rage, and be came a lion.' After the presentation to the Queen, Viotti introduced Cherubini to the highest society of the capital; to Madame de Polignac, Madame D'Etioles, Madame de Richelieu, and so to those bright assemblies where Garat and Azevedo sang; to Florian the author, on whose romance of *Estella* Cherubini, in 1787, wrote eighteen romanzas; to the Abbé Morellet, the brilliant Piccinist; and, lastly, to Marmontel, with whom he first became acquainted at Morellet's house, and who gave him his poem of *Démophon* to set to music. Viotti, further, introduced him into the 'Société Academique des Enfans d'Apollon,' an association for concerts, founded in 1741, which, I believe, still exists. Especially, and above all the other associations to which he ultimately belonged, did Cherubini prize in his heart, when Viotti was no more, his membership in that society, as reminding him of the kindness of his truest friend of all, in days that had long gone by. At one of the 'Concerts des Amateurs' he heard a symphony of Haydn, which pleased him so much that on the same evening he began to study that master's works. In him, we are told, he recognised his own power. 'He learned from Haydn how to

combine depth with lightness, grace with power, jest with earnestness, toying with dignity.'[8]

The vacation being over, Cherubini returned to England to fulfil his engagement as king's musician for 1787.[9] Dr. Burney says: 'Cherubini, the nominal composer in this year (1787) at the opera, was a young man of genius, who had no opportunity while he was here of displaying his abilities, but previous to his arrival he had frequently been noticed in his own country, where he is now travelling fast to the Temple of Fame.' 'On the 13th of January 1787,' adds Dr. Burney, 'was first performed a comic opera called *Giannina e Bernardoni*, originally composed by Cimarosa, but in which many songs were now introduced of Cherubini.' Paisiello's *Gli Schiavi per amore* was also brought out.

On returning to Paris, Cherubini took up his abode with Viotti, and for more than three years the

[8] Arnold, p. 10.

[9] De Lomenie and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* mention distinctly Cherubini's return to England in 1787. Denne-Baron speaks of Cherubini's return from London to Paris in that year, and Nisard confronts him, saying: 'For this circumstance to be exact the illustrious composer must have already come to the French capital.' Well, in any case, he had come once before to Paris, while passing through to England for the first time; Castil-Blaze's speaking of Cherubini's several visits to Paris while in England implies a return to England. The eighteen romanzas, too, apart from Dr. Burney's testimony, are significant of Cherubini having been busy in England in 1787, being the only compositions, in the catalogue, for that year.

two friends lived under the same roof.' Cherubini now bethought him of his promise at Turin; so, at the carnival of 1788, he went there and composed and produced his brilliant three-act opera of *Ifigenia in Aulide*, the last work he wrote in Italy.[10] The success of the opera was so great that Marchesi, the celebrated singer, made choice of it for singing in, during the autumn season, at La Scala, Milan, where he made no little effect with the air 'A voi torno Sponde amate.' *Ifigenia* was also performed at Florence and Parma, and always, if we are to believe the journals of the day, with success. We may be glad that it was so, and that Cherubini left Italy for good and all, in sunshine. Yet, although he had nearly reached the number of years allotted to Schubert, he had hitherto done little or nothing really great. Had he died at this period he might now be a rather obscure name in Fétis' immense dictionary. His genius, like that of Glück, developed slowly. A short life would have been fatal to the renown of both. Yet, in the last opera written for Italy by Cherubini, Halévy detects something auguring future greatness. 'This opera,' he says, 'differs in style from Cherubini's preceding works.

[10] De Lomenie supposes that *Ifigenia* was brought out at Turin before Cherubini went to London a second time in 1787, but the catalogue would have set him right on this point.

He is already more nervous; there peeps out, I know not exactly how much of force and virility, of which the Italian musicians of his day did not know, or did not seek the secret. It is the dawn of a new day. Cherubini was preparing himself for the combat. Glück had accustomed France to the sublime energy of his masterpieces. Mozart had just written *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni.* He must not lag behind; he must not be conquered; in that career which he was about to dare to enter, he met two giants. Like the athlete who descends into the arena, he anointed his limbs; he girded his loins, like the warrior who goes forth to fight.'

Cherubini returned definitively to Paris, where he lived and died, where he was to influence, as the author of *Alcestis* had done before him, the taste of a people, and pass through a brilliant, if somewhat chequered career.

CHAPTER III.

1788–1791.

Cherubini's and Vogel's *Démophons*—Marmontel's libretto—The Loge Olympique—Circe—The Bouffons—Cherubini is made Director of Italian Opera at the Tuileries—Inserts pieces of his own in the works put on the stage—His trials during the Revolution—He is forced to leave the Tuileries—Cherubini's and Kreutzer's *Lodoiskas*.

WHEN Cherubini arrived in Paris from Turin in 1788, two operas called *Démophon* were close upon completion, one by Vogel, the other by Cherubini himself, who had begun to work on Marmontel's story while in England. Vogel was already known to the public as the composer of the *Toison d'Or*, and had previously been offered Marmontel's libretto, but, being a dilatory man, had kept the managers of the opera waiting two years without finishing the music, for which reason the poem was given to Cherubini. Vogel, in all probability, now transferred what music he had already written for Marmontel's *Démophon* to a libretto on a similar subject by Desriaux. His great fault was his preferring to fill his wine-glass to keeping his engagements; that was

all. But on the 28th of June 1788 he died, it may be said, bottle in hand, with a fever besides. Both operas had been written for the Royal Academy of Music, but, wisely enough, were not brought out at the same time. Lays, the singer, wished Vogel's *Démophon* to come first, but Cherubini contrived to obtain for his opera the priority of performance. This preference excited some enmity against Cherubini, so that when Vogel's work did appear it was cried up with much energy. Desriaux's libretto was better than Marmontel's, who had followed Metastasio too servilely, and brought in the two pairs of lovers, always so essential, says Castil-Blaze, in Italian opera. He adds: 'There was then a mania at the Opera for doubling these lovers, and for bringing forward two works in succession, composed on one given subject. By this means a saving was made in cloth, and the make-up of a collection of costumes; and the same decorations served for both dramas.' Cherubini's *Démophon* first appeared December 5th, 1788, conducted by the composer himself; that of Vogel not till the 22d of September 1789. Neither was successful, though Vogel's overture became popular. Cherubini's overture, which begins in C minor, then goes into the key of G, then returns to the original key, and concludes in C major, is a vigorous composition, and would be

an effective piece for our concerts. Nearly all the subsequent overtures of Cherubini are familiar to us; but this, which may be called the first of his known ones in order of time, has never, I think, been given in England.
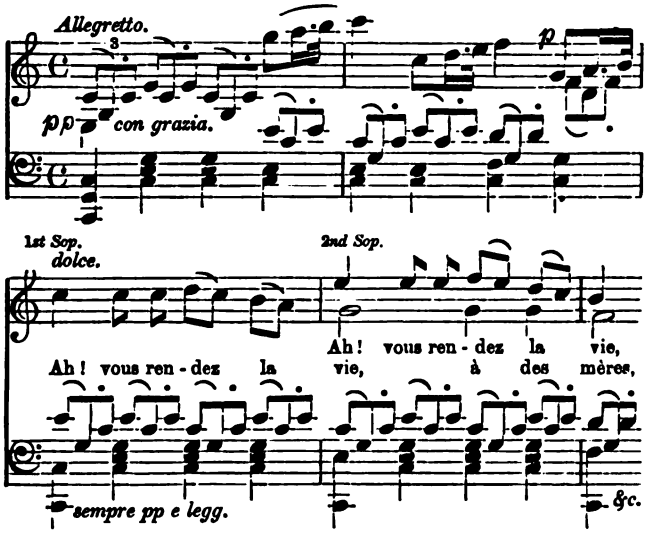
Of *Démophon* itself Fétis observes: 'It produced little effect, and the public received it with coldness. It is a curious subject for historical study to compare the score of this opera with *Ifigenia*, which Cherubini had written at Turin at the beginning of the same year (1788). In this latter score melody abounds, and among several pieces full of charm you remark a trio of the greatest beauty. *Démophon*, on the other hand, offers us nothing but a dryness in the airs, a number of faults as regards rhythm and symmetry of phrasing, and, what is worse than all, a languid monotony in the general tone of the work. There is nothing remarkable even in the harmony; and you regret to recognise in this feeble production the labour of a man who soon afterwards came to be justly thought a great master. Whence did an embarrassment that so cramped Cherubini's genius arise? It was clearly produced by the requirements of the French stage, hitherto unknown to the composer, and which he had not yet had time to study; besides the exigencies of an unmusical language, which did not afford him the cadenced rhythms of

his native tongue—rhythms so favourable to the forms of melody. The constraint and anticipation of these difficulties become everywhere apparent in *Démophon*, and talent exerted under such unfavourable circumstances could only bring forth what is second-rate. From time to time you perceive the beginning of a felicitous melody—for instance, in the air, "Faut-il enfin que je déclare?" and in this one, "Au plaisir de voir tant de charmes," &c.; but the detestable sham lyric verses of Marmontel soon come to dissipate the melodious essence that seemed willing to exhale itself. Poor Cherubini did not know what to do with these verses of every dimension, which sometimes forced him to make his phrase of five measures, and at other times allowed him only one of two, or made him increase the value of the musical time, so as to make two measures with one. The composition of this opera must have been for him a prolonged torture.'[1]

Picchianti observes, that in *Démophon* Cherubini 'exhibited a more elaborate workmanship, more grandeur of form, and so suddenly perfected his style, that he rose above the ordinary and popular intelligence of the time. And only to those,' he adds, 'who thoroughly understood him was it given to foresee what a brilliant future for the French

[1] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 265.

lyric stage the new composer was preparing; so great were the masculine beauties that appeared in this Spartan; but these, from some other cause, were not thought sufficient to compensate for the want of colour and dramatic interest—faults pervading the whole opera, and which are to be assigned more to the poet than to the musician.' He continues: 'Among various pieces, the chorus, "Ah! vous rendez la vie," especially, by the merit of the



instrumentation, the texture of the vocal portion, and the robustness of the style, might have been called, when it appeared, a conception of a new creation, the announcement of a new school.' Fétis has

expressed himself in almost identical terms. The chorus for men's voices, 'Le plus beau sang,' may also be mentioned. 'There was certainly a great merit,' says Halévy, 'in the instrumentation in *Démophon;* there were beautiful choruses. Already in this work the composer was laying the foundations of a new school and a new style. But these qualities could not be appreciated by the public; and then inspiration was wanting. I could have wished Cherubini had been counselled not to break away brusquely and entirely from his beautiful Italian school.' Again he says: 'All hitherto had gone well. Fortune came before the young composer. The world, the poet, the theatre, seconded his dearest wishes. Marmontel had handed him the poem for the opera; it was a *Démophon.* Everything smiled on Cherubini; everything henceforth seemed likely to succeed with him. In fact, everything did succeed — except *Démophon.*' Halévy goes on to deplore that Cherubini took Marmontel as his librettist. 'I regret,' he exclaims, 'that Cherubini, on arriving in Paris, should have fallen into the hands of Morellet and Marmontel. I could have wished that his good genius had applied to Sedaine. The aged author of *Richard Cœur de Lion* would have understood what the young artist, a stranger, restless in the road he had to follow, wanted. He would

have made him a good drama, a very musical one, in which Cherubini would have found noble and grand inspirations. He would not have thus failed in the éclat of his début, and we should have had one beautiful work the more. That had occurred to Cherubini which happens to a traveller who, thrown into the heart of a great city with which he is not acquainted, asks his way from great lords and the like—men only accustomed to go out in carriages. With the best faith in the world, they give him false directions, and lead him astray. An honest bourgeois, who plods the streets on foot, would be worth a hundred times as much.' Cherubini's first French opera, however, brought him into much notice, and some drawing-rooms even ventured at applause. Among the small fry of Italian composers, the tragedy of *Démophon* must have fallen like a bombshell. Such a work, at once scientific and noisy, was something perfectly new; and what must have been the disgust of Marmontel? He was a Piccinnist. Clearly he had not caught hold of the right man to continue Piccinni's school; and had he known the remark of a wag who had just heard his new lyric production, he would have been no better pleased: 'Si des mots font un opéra, *Démophon* est un opéra.' For the present, Cherubini determined to write no more tragic music.

The concerts of the Loge Olympique, for which Cherubini wrote the cantatas *Amphion* and *Circe*, were, at this time, patronised by Queen Marie Antoinette, who granted the Loge an apartment for its performances at the Tuileries. Here, in 1789, Madame Todi, the rival of Mara, sang the scena, 'Sarete alfin contenti,' written expressly for her by Cherubini. Miel calls *Circe* one of the masterpieces of the French lyric drama. He seems to mean Cherubini's work; but he is surely thinking of Rousseau's cantata of that name. But if Cherubini put to music the work of Rousseau, it is to be hoped that he was fully equal to the occasion; for unless a composer were thoroughly in the vein, it would be no easy matter to set the following verses, to be found in Rousseau's libretto:

'Sa voix redoutable
Trouble les Enfers:
Un bruit formidable
Gronde dans les airs.
Une voile effroyable
Couvre l'univers:
La terre tremblante
Frémit de terreur;
L'onde turbulente
Mugit de fureur:
La lune sanglante
Recule d'horreur!'[2]

In 1789 Léonard, perfumer to the Queen, and a

[2] Framery and Ginguene's 'Musique' in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*.

man of great wealth, obtained, through her influence, a license to open a theatre for Italian opera, and thereupon sent Viotti to Italy to obtain the best singers. Viotti returned, after having engaged Viganoni, Mandini, Mengozzi, Revedino, the fine actor Raffanelli, and Mesdames Morichelli and Banti. Madame Baletti, already in Paris, was also engaged. For the latter, who made her début at one of the Concerts Spirituels in the November of 1788, Cherubini wrote the scena and air, 'Ma che vi fece, oh stelle,' mentioned by De Toulmon in his supplement to Cherubini's Catalogue. 'Her voice,' says Fétis, 'was sweet, her vocalisation perfect, her expression touching.' The whole company was placed under the patronage of Monsieur, Comte de Provence, afterwards King Louis XVIII. The Théâtre de Monsieur was temporarily opened in the hall of the Tuileries on the 26th January 1789; and the 'Troupe de Monsieur,' or the 'Bouffons,' as they were more generally called, began a series of such performances of the best operas of Cimarosa and his school as could not be excelled in any other part of Europe. Fétis says: 'The troupe made its début in a kind of booth, which was called "Le Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain,"' forgetting that it was not till afterwards that they removed thither. Elsewhere he speaks differently: 'Cette compagnie débuta en 1789 aux Tuileries;' thus

confirming Halévy's statement, which is my authority, and contradicting his own.[3] Cherubini had been made director of the company, and had the delicate duty to discharge of assigning the parts to the singers, and arranging the works for representation; and so untiring was his zeal, so much did he exert himself in his new undertaking, that his friends feared for his health. He strictly required from others the same exactitude which he practised himself, and often lost patience and became severe, says Picchianti, if any of the singers were deficient in attention at rehearsal, or in ability in their respective parts. The *Harmonicon* remarks, on the other hand: 'He had the happy art of gaining over the singers to his views by a suavity of manner and a conciliatory mode of address, not always possessed by one of his talent and profession.' Cherubini sometimes, but Mestrino generally, led in the orchestra; and the latter, dying in the September of 1790, was succeeded by Puppo the violinist. To bring out further the talent of the singers, Cherubini inserted thirty-seven airs in the Italian operas which he put on the stage, all of which excited on their appearance general attention, and among them must be noticed the trio, 'Son tre, sei, nove,' in Cimarosa's *Italiana in Londra;* the quartet, 'Non ti fidar,' in Gazzaniga's

[3] See *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 265, and vol. viii. p. 362.

Don Giovanni; the superb quartet, 'Cara da voi dipende,' which was much applauded, in Anfossi's *Viaggiatori Felici;* and the nine airs in Paisiello's *La Molinara;* these last were greatly admired by King Louis XVI., who attended some of the performances:

1789. Paisiello's *La Molinara*, nine pieces contributed.
1789. Guglielmi's *La Pastorella Nobile*, one piece, represented Dec. 12.
1790. Paisiello's *La Grotta di Trofonio*, two pieces.
1790. Desaugier's (?) *Les Deux Jumeaux*, two ditto.
1790. Paisiello's *La Frascatana*, two ditto.
1790. Anfossi's *I Viaggiatori Felici*, three ditto.
1790. Cimarosa's *L'Italiana in Londra*, six ditto.
1791. Paisiello's *Il Tamburo Notturno*, two ditto.
1791. Martini's *Il Burbero di Buoncore*, one piece, represented Feb. 22.
1791. Gazzaniga's *Le Vendemmie*, one ditto.
1791. Paisiello's *La Pazza d'Amore*, one ditto.
1792. Gazzaniga's *Il Don Giovanni Tenario*, one ditto.
1792. Martini's *La Cosa Rara*, one ditto.
1792. Basili's (?) *La Locandiera*, five pieces.

'It has been remarked,' says Lafage, 'that at this period Cherubini had two distinct styles, one of which was allied to Paisiello and Cimarosa by the grace, elegance, and purity of the melodic forms; the other, which attached itself to the school of Glück and Mozart, more harmonic than melodious, rich in instrumental details. This manner was, as M. Fétis says, the then unappreciated type of a new school, destined to change all the forms of art.' Cherubini's popularity, however, was owing to his first style. 'The Italian melody,' observes Picchianti, 'had always a great many admirers among persons of

education and good taste; and Cherubini, by his beautiful compositions, the grace of his songs, and the delightful manner of his pianoforte playing, was everywhere welcomed and admired.' Not, however, till the 'Bouffons' left Paris was Cherubini freed from Italian influences, and left to follow his own bent.

In 1790 he began an opera—*Marguerite d'Anjou*—for Louis XVI., at the Tuileries; but the march of the Revolution stopped its progress, and he retired for a short time to Breuilpont in Normandy, returning to Paris shortly before the King's dreadful journey from Versailles.

When the Revolution broke out, Cherubini's hopes became almost as clouded as those of the monarchy. Hitherto his connection had distinctly been with the aristocracy, and now they were fleeing in all directions or mounting the scaffold. His livelihood became precarious, and he suffered in many ways, especially during the first five years of anarchy. Forced to live in seclusion, he passed his time in studying music, the physical sciences, drawing, and botany, and, wisely enough, limited his circle of acquaintances to a few trustworthy friends, musicians like himself. His having learnt the violin when a child was the means of saving his life in the hour of danger. To stir out of doors was more or less of a risk, because numerous and reckless mobs paraded

the streets night and day. Once, during an occasion of more than ordinary excitement, Cherubini fell into the hands of a band of *sansculottes*, who were roving about the city seeking musicians to conduct their chants. To them it was a special satisfaction to compel the talent that had formerly delighted royalty and nobility to administer now to their own gratification. On Cherubini firmly refusing to lead them, a low murmur ran through the crowd, and the fatal words, 'The Royalist! the Royalist!' resounded on all sides. At this critical juncture, one of Cherubini's friends, a kidnapped musician too, seeing his imminent danger, thrust a violin into his unwilling hands, and succeeded in persuading him to head the mob. The whole day these two musicians accompanied the hoarse and overpowering yells of that revolutionary assemblage; and when at last a halt was made in a public square, where a banquet took place, Cherubini and his friend had to mount some empty barrels and play till the feasting was over.

Another annoyance for Cherubini was his enrolment as a member of the National Guard, which entailed the custody of prisoners, and escorting them to the scaffold. He would gladly have quitted such scenes of horror; but there were difficulties in the way. In the first place, he was engaged as leader of the Italian Theatre till 1792; secondly, it was no

easy task to elude the vigilance of officials in any attempt at escape from French territory; thirdly, the value of French notes, reduced in France to a fifteenth of their proper value, was almost nominal in other countries, and of gold Cherubini had little; lastly, he had promised his hand to Cécile, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Signor Tourette, a musician of the old Chapelle Royale, and husband of one of the ladies-in-waiting to the Princesses Adelaide, and Victoria, aunts to the king.

When Louis XVI. arrived in Paris from Versailles, the 'Bouffons' had to leave their quarters in the Tuileries, and take refuge in the Nicolet Hall, near the fair of St. Germain, until Léonard's new opera-house was ready for them in the Rue Feydeau. This explains the Catalogue, where Cherubini, speaking first of the Théâtre des Tuileries as the place where the Italian operas were brought out (which was no other than the hall of the Tuileries, otherwise called—though never by Cherubini—the 'Théâtre de Monsieur'), subsequently alludes to the 'Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain.'

A French company now joined the Italian troupe, already strengthened by the acquisition of Garat; and on the opening of the Théâtre Feydeau, the first work performed there was Persuis' *Nuit Espagnole;* the second was Cherubini's *Lodoïska,* which our com-

poser had been preparing a long time, and which was received, especially in Germany, with ever-increasing applause. We are now afforded the unusual spectacle of an Italian upsetting the popularity of Italian operas. The *mio-tesoro* style was ill-fitted for stirring times. For about 1789, as in politics, so in music and literature, a new spirit was rising. The dramas of Racine and the operas of Lulli were much akin to one another; and the genius of Schiller had its counterpart in that of a Beethoven. 'We can easily understand,' observes Oulibischeff, 'how Mozart's popularity must have thrown the Italian masters of the transition period into the background. But there was another rival element still more terrible and destructive to them, viz. the contemporaneous rise of the true dramatic music of the nineteenth century—the music founded by the great masters of the French school, Cherubini, Méhul, and Spontini. What could composers who continued to work on a worn-out system do against such works as *Lodoïska*, *Les Deux Journées*, *Faniska*, *Joseph*, and *Die Vestalin*, which Europe received with enthusiasm, and in which it recognised itself? . . . . If, on the one hand, Glück's calm and plastic grandeur, and, on the other, the tender and voluptuous charm of the melodies of Pinini and Zacchini, had suited the circumstances of a state of society sunk in luxury,

and nourished with classical exhibitions, this could not satisfy a society shaken to the very foundations of its faith and organisation. The whole of the dramatic music of the eighteenth century must naturally have appeared cold and languid to men whose minds were profoundly moved with troubles and wars; and even at the present day the word "languor" will, perhaps, best express generally that which no longer touches us in the operas of the last century, without excepting even those of Mozart himself. What we require for the pictures of dramatic music is larger frames, including more figures, more passionate and moving song, more sharply marked rhythms, greater fulness in the vocal masses, and more sonorous brilliancy in the instrumentation. All these qualities are to be found in *Lodoïska* and *Les Deux Journées*, and Cherubini may be regarded not only as the founder of modern French opera, but also as that musician who, after Mozart, has exerted the greatest influence on the general tendency of the art. An Italian by birth and the excellence of his education, which was conducted by Sarti, the great teacher of composition,—a German by his musical sympathies, as well as by the variety and profundity of his knowledge,—and a Frenchman by the school and principles to which we owe his finest dramatic works,—Cherubini strikes me as being the most accomplished

musician, if not the greatest genius, of the nineteenth century.'[4]

'Doubtless it is true,' says the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'that Cherubini's services as the reformer of French, or modern, opera are appreciated, especially in Germany, but by no means sufficiently so; because they date from the same period as Mozart's transformation of opera, which came more directly under the notice of the Germans. People still talked and wrote a great deal about Glück, and the principles which he laid down for the musical drama, but meanwhile they forgot that Cherubini effected just as much as Glück, in the blending of the music with the poetry, and the characteristic representation of the dramatic situation, though with far greater richness of musical fancy, because he employed in his harmonic combinations a much richer store of instrumental resources and knowledge, and raised the music above the nervous interpretation of the words without sacrificing the psychical truth of expression in the melody. At the same time he developed the received forms, and created, especially for the so-called concerted pieces, perfectly new ones, distinguished for a scope never before known, and for an amount of work previously unattempted. Such a finale as that in *Lodoïska*, and that in *Les*

[4] *Musical World* for 1862.

Deux Journées, was without parallel upon the French operatic stage; and if Spontini subsequently surpassed Cherubini in these grand points, he enjoyed the advantages of Mozart's example, which he could follow, while it was impossible that Cherubini could have known anything about Mozart's masterpieces when composing *Lodoïska*, *Elisa*, *Medea*, and *Les Deux Journées*.'

The historical proofs of this last statement are satisfactory as regards *Lodoïska*. Mozart's *Figaro* was first brought out on the 28th of April 1786; his *Don Juan* on the 4th of November 1787; the *Zauberflöte* on the 30th of September 1791. An unsuccessful attempt was made to introduce the *Figaro* at Paris on the 20th of March 1793. The libretto was absurdly translated by Notaris, and the music was ill-executed. On the fifth night the piece was withdrawn. *Figaro*, therefore, was not known to France at all till after *Lodoïska* had appeared. The *Zauberflöte* came out after *Lodoïska*, and a mangled version of *Don Juan* was given at Paris in 1805, after all Cherubini's operatic masterpieces had appeared. Its first performance there in its entirety was not till 1811. But 'there is no doubt,' observes Fétis, 'that Cherubini followed his own inspirations in the new style which he introduced into France; a comparison of his style with that

of his illustrious predecessor proves it to demonstration.'

'Two men of genius,' observes a critic, 'Glück and Grétry, had formed the taste of the public, in being faithful to the accents of nature. The idea of reconciling this taste, founded on strict truth, with the seductive charm of the Italian forms, to which the French were beginning to be sensible, suggested to Cherubini a system of lyric drama capable of satisfying this double condition.' All, however, had not been accomplished in Cherubini. 'The career of Glück,' says Grétry, 'could be followed out more easily than mine; we also see Méhul, Cherubini, and Lesueur more vigorous than Glück; for it is in the springtime of their life that they are carrying on what Glück only discovered after a fifty years' experience. What will come after them? In thought I see a charming being endowed with melodious instinct, replete above all, both head and heart, with musical ideas, yet not daring to infringe dramatic rules, known nowadays to all musicians.'[4]

Lastly M. Dannreuther remarks: 'All that can by any possibility be accomplished in the musical drama from the musician's specific point of view, and without taking the poet into consideration, was accomplished by Glück's successors, Cherubini, Méhul, and

[4] Grétry's *Mémoires*, vol. iii. p. 43.

Spontini. They have widened, without destroying, the musical forms to the utmost; they maintained the traditional arrangement of the aria; they rendered the recitative, and the connecting links between it and the aria, more expressive; and, what is of especial importance, they allotted the execution of the airs to more than one person, according to dramatic necessities, so that the character of monologue, hitherto essential to all operas, was got rid of. Of course duetti and terzetti had been in use long before their time, but the fact that they rendered these, which had formerly been mere slight modifications of the solo aria, subservient to the higher purpose of dramatic musical *ensemble*,—this was the progress which those great men realised;[5] "and it would be difficult," remarks Wagner, "to answer them, if they now perchance came amongst us, and asked in what respect we had improved on their mode of musical procedure." Cherubini and his friends had allowed the poet to develop his art in the exact ratio of their own increase of musical freedom and strength; but with them also he never rose above the position of a subordinate.'[6] In fact Che-

[5] This is, doubtless, true in the main, but it may be questioned whether Handel's trio, 'The flocks shall leave their mountains,' and the chorus, 'Wretched Lovers,' in *Acis and Galatea*, have ever been surpassed for dramatic force and contrast.

[6] *Richard Wagner; his Tendencies and Theories*, p. 28.

rubini anticipated many of Wagner's innovations. To mention but one instance—if not in *Lodoïska*, at any rate in *Les Deux Journées*—we find indicated Wagner's device of giving certain set musical phrases to each character, by this means individualising it. Thus I remember an observation of Castil-Blaze to the effect, that he knew that Armand was concealed in Mikeli's water-cart, through the playing of a flute.

Lodoïska originated in France what has been called *musique d'effet*, which found numberless followers, but notably in Méhul, Steibelt, Lesueur, Berton, Boieldieu, Auber, Meyerbeer, and Rossini; but, says the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, speaking of Cherubini, 'we must not hold him responsible for the direction which "effect-music" pursued, especially in our own time, through the instrumentality of Meyerbeer.' No, nor for the din of cymbal and gong of Rossini; that padding which is surely the worst *musique d'effet* possible. What effect-music really was, the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* tells us in one sentence: 'While Cherubini carried out, in the melody, the fundamental law of dramatic truth, the agreement of the music with the situations in the drama, and their poetic expression, as laid down by Glück, he exhibited greater depth of intention, fuller and bolder harmony, and a style of instrumentation which, by its richness, and the characteristic employ-

ment of the wind instruments especially, in conformity with the peculiar quality of their sound, introduced the orchestra in a brilliant manner, not only as the foundation for the vocal portion, but also as its necessary adjunct, and its equal in bringing about the theatrical effect as a whole.'

Lodoïska cast the old Italian operas into that shade of oblivion from which, with a few exceptions, they have never since emerged. But there was another cause which of itself would have been fatal to their permanent hold of the stage—the composer's defective musical education. Thus while Cherubini went through a thorough training, we have had in melancholy contrast to him even the gifted Rossini of our own day ignorant of double counterpoint, and declaring that he wanted no more lessons. And so, though the old struggle, which was going on in Handel's time, still continues; though the musical world is yet divided into two camps; though there are still Glückists and Piccinnists, lovers of German, lovers of Italian music, Italy is no longer, as once she was, the home of classical music. And she now consoles herself for the loss of such a distinction, by the reflection that classical music is but another name for what is dull. If Palestrina and Pergolesi could rise up again, they would not concur in that judgment.

As there had been two *Démophons* that came out

almost simultaneously, so were there two *Lodoïskas*. That of Kreutzer, partially known in the ballroom, appeared on the 1st of August 1791 at the Théâtre Favart; that of Cherubini at the Théâtre Feydeau nearly a month earlier, on the 18th of July, with Madame Scio as prima donna; and thus about a month after the flight of the king and his arrest at Varennes. '*Lodoïska*,' observes F. W. N., a critic (who speaks of the overture, in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine*), 'has to contend with disadvantage against the showy and beautiful overture to that opera by Kreutzer, which all the amateurs have been accustomed to applaud; but yet, in many respects, it must be owned, comes out from the contest with credit and reputation. There is something of mannerism in the second movement of this piece, compared with the second movement of *Anacreon*—not in the notes, but in the style of the passage—but which may be excused from the peculiar novel effect. Good modulations are to be found in the movement to which I allude, particularly the passage begun in A minor, after repeated in A major; and that part where a succession of chords begins upon D, in which the composer has altered the usually received rules for accent, by placing it for bars in succession upon the second part of the bar. Our author's tact appears to lie in that ingenious distribution of particular
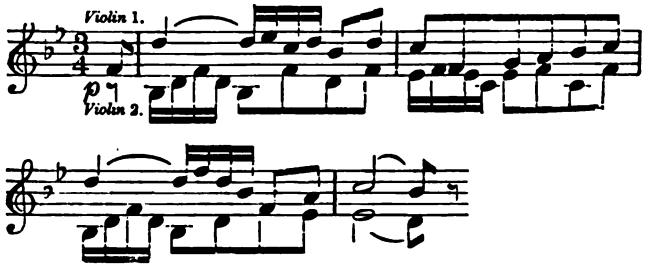
detached passages to the several instruments he employs, which so much distinguished the great Mozart; and to write these with a perfect knowledge of the effects which the mechanical capacity of each is found to produce will be acknowledged as a considerable difficulty by all those who attempt the task.'

The subject of the libretto, somewhat similar to those of *Fidelio* and Grétry's *Cœur de Lion* combined, was taken from a romance of Faiblas by Fillette Loraux. The plot is briefly this: Lodoïska is imprisoned in the castle of a tyrant, Dourlinski, who endeavours in vain to obtain her acceptance of his hand. Her lover Floreski gains admittance to the castle, and, under the pretence of being her brother, comes to claim her on the part of her mother. Floreski, having obtained Dourlinski's leave to stay the night previous to his return to Warsaw, is subsequently discovered attempting to effect Lodoïska's escape by giving the guards drugged wine. At this point, however, the castle is stormed by Titzikan, the leader of the Tartars, and Lodoïska is rescued. The success of *Lodoïska* was immense, the whole audience (such is the tradition) going through the somewhat wearisome process of rising to their feet and applauding each successive piece. One journal, after speaking of the triumphs of the decorators and

machinists, all of whom were demanded at the end of the performance, adds: 'We also called for the author of the music. It is Monsieur Cherubini, a young artist known by several works that have already placed him in the first rank of composers. If we have a reproach to utter about the music of this work, it is this: it is too beautiful; and this is a real reproach. All the pieces, worked out with infinite care, and all equally worked out, do not give the listener time to breathe; by being forced to admire, you end by being fatigued with this too-continued beauty; you would prefer from time to time simpler pieces, on which to take your repose. You understand that it is difficult for us to single out for remark the best pieces, where there is not one that is not superb. We distinguish, however, the two pieces that closed the second act, not perhaps as being more beautiful than the rest, but because they offer more contrast.'
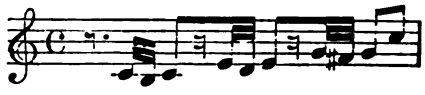
The two pieces here alluded to are in the famous finale of the second act, where Floreski and his servant Varbel are going to drug the guards. Floreski is afraid, since the guards are watching him attentively. 'Ils ont tous les regards sur nous,' he exclaims. Varbel adds: 'La chose est claire.' The first guard whispers, 'L'un est maître, l'autre est valet;' the second, 'Je pense moi que c'est un traitre;' the third, 'Si j'en juge par l'apparence, ils me semblent fort in-

quiets.' Nothing can be more masterly than the music, which, without being disjointed, has to bring out all the different 'asides.' The guards are now asked to retire a little; the drug is mixed with the wine, and the guards are invited to drink. The instrumentation here assumes a most brilliant character. The guards cannot resist an offer of wine, and sing 'Bon, bon,' even when they have fallen down with giddiness. At this instant the grand climax is reached by the appearance of Dourlinski, exclaiming 'Traitres!' Floreski replies, 'Tyran!' 'Frémis,' shouts Dourlinski, while the chorus come in, warning Floreski of 'tourmens les plus affreux.' Among the other numbers may be noticed the duet between Titzikan and Floreski, before their fight in the first act, when they do not know each other as friends; the chorus of Tartars, 'Jurons;' the brilliant polonaise, which opens with the violins, and



preludes Varbel's celebrated air, 'Souvent près d'une belle;' Floreski following in a more subdued

strain, since he is sad at the loss of Lodoïska. In the second act there is the duet between Lodoïska and Dourlinski, 'A ces traits je connois ta rage,' subsequently altered by Cherubini; the scena where Dourlinski orders Lodoïska to be separated from her attendant Lysinka, and where the chorus come in *sotto voce*, sympathising with Lodoïska, and entreating Dourlinski 'Laissez-lui ce foible recours,' and where, when the tyrant orders Lysinka to be forcibly separated from her mistress, they sing sorrowfully, 'Fear his anger;' and lastly, Varbel's air, 'Rien n'égale sa



barbarie,' with a brilliant accompaniment given only to the violins (themselves accompanied by the other instruments), which precedes the finale of the second act already noticed.

In the third act, Lodoïska, after hearing from Dourlinski that Floreski is captured, sings the beautiful air, 'Tournez sur moi votre colère.' Then we have the highly effective scene where Floreski begins the air, 'Quoi t'unir à ce barbare,' and is followed by Lodoïska, both subsequently singing together, 'Oui, jurons de mourir ensemble,' while the enraged Dourlinski exclaims, 'Outrage!' The finale begins just where Dourlinski's poniard is turned aside by Titzikan from Floreski, and is preluded by

a long symphony, occupying sixteen pages of the score. Floreski calls upon the apparently lifeless Lodoïska, and she answers, 'Ah je respire.' To the prisoner Dourlinski's question as to what ransom is required for him, Titzikan's replies, 'Captivity;' and here the Poles and Tartars join in with the fine chorus, 'Votre fureur est légitime.' Such is a cursory and necessarily inadequate notice of this great work, of which Clément well observes: 'On trouve dans tout l'ouvrage un style noble et soutenu, des masses admirables et profondes, des modulations riches et variées, qui l'empêchent de viellir.'

In one year *Lodoïska* was performed two hundred times, and at short intervals two hundred more representations took place. Yet, in spite of these facts, some persons have asserted that its success was impeded by Kreutzer's *Lodoïska*. Cherubini, indeed, did not escape opposition. Some said, 'He enchains the actor to the orchestra.' He and his followers were stigmatised as the mathematical composers, because they worked out their ideas on a principle, carefully and systematically. It will be better, however, to let those opponents who depreciated Cherubini's operas speak for themselves; and the following observations, written in Cherubini's lifetime, will perhaps answer the purpose: 'He (Cherubini) excited enthusiasm by his mag-

nificent quartet, "Cara da voi dipende," in the *Viaggiatori Felici;* and yet he has not become worthy of being placed beside the Paisiellos, the Guglielmis, and the Cimarosas, his contemporaries; for, though often directing the orchestra of this theatre (de Monsieur), he never dared to risk there any whole opera in his own style—not even one of those which he had composed in Italy. Since it is easier to produce harmonies and noise, effects of purely theoretical calculation, than to create song, M. Cherubini, renouncing the Italian method, which requires imagination and fecundity, allies himself to the German manner, in substituting for an expressive melody the noisy and often unnatural effects of instrumental profusion. The success and vogue which his opera of *Lodoïska* obtained in 1791 at the Feydeau Theatre made an epoch in that style of which it would be possible to regard him as the inventor, had not Méhul already made use of it (?),[7] but with more reserve, taste, and felicity. It was at that time thought the proper thing to prefer the learned *Lodoïska* of the Feydeau to that of M. Kreutzer at the Favart Theatre, which was more interesting and less pretentious. This last, however, since the union of the two theatres, has kept the stage; the other has disappeared

[7] There is every evidence to show that Cherubini, in writing the operas of *Démophon* and *Lodoïska*, opened the way for Méhul, Lesueur, and Spontini.' Clément, *Dictionnaire Lyrique*, p. 406.

from the *répertoire* even before the musical revolution effected in France by Della Maria.... The other works of M. Cherubini, in spite of the ephemeral success of some of them—in spite of the scientific merit which dilettanti can recognise in various portions of his compositions—are nearly forgotten nowadays; they lack essentially verve, variety, and originality(?). *Les Deux Journées* is an exception—the only one of his operas which will perhaps survive him—the only one which, since 1800, has remained in the *répertoire.*'[8]

Much of this is very like the old charges which were urged against Glück, Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber; in fact, against every innovator. Cherubini was more fortunate than they; opposition to him, in 1791, was vain. The tide had for the moment completely turned against the Italian composers. *Lodoïska*, it has been said, came to console people for Mozart's premature death, and marks the commencement of the brightest era in the annals of French opera.

[8] *Biog. Univ. et Port.* 1834.

CHAPTER IV.

1791–1795.

The theatres at Paris—Flight of Viotti and the Bouffons—Cherubini takes refuge at La Chartreuse de Gaillon, in Normandy—*La Liberté et la Palinodie à Nice*—*Kourkourgi*—Lesueur and Cherubini—*La Caverne*—Death of Cherubini's father—*Elisa*—Foundation of the Conservatoire—Cherubini appointed one of the inspectors.

THE number and variety of works produced at Paris between 1790 and 1800 is astonishing. For order, authority, and religion that decade was terrible; for music it was glorious. At this time twenty-five theatres, as the following list will show, existed in Paris, many of them time-honoured buildings, where a century and more before had been heard the quiet music of Lulli and the stronger strains of Rameau:

1. Opéra National (Grand Opera), at the Porte St. Martin, which has changed its name so often, according to the different governments that succeeded each other in France, at one time being called Théâtre des Arts, at another time Théâtre de la République et des Arts, Théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra, Académie Impériale, Académie Royale, &c.
2. Théâtre Français, at this period Théâtre de la République, at the Palais Royale.
3. Another Théâtre Français, at this time Théâtre de la Nation, at the Odéon.
4. Opéra Comique National, at the Salle Favart.

5. Théâtre Feydeau.
6. Théâtre de la Montagne, or Montansier, at the Palais Royale.
7. Théâtre National, Rue Richelieu.
8. Théâtre du Marais.
9. Théâtre des Amis de la Patrie, at the Salle Louvois.
10. Théâtre du Lycée des Arts, Rue St. Honoré.
11. Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique, Boulevard du Temple.
12. Théâtre du Vaudeville, Rue de Chartres.
13. Théâtre des Variétés Amusantes, Boulevard du Temple.
14. Théâtre de la Gaîté, Boulevard du Temple.
15. Théâtre des Délassements Comiques, Boulevard du Temple.
16. Théâtre Patriotique, Boulevard du Temple.
17. Théâtre sans Prétention, Boulevard du Temple.
18. Théâtre Molière, Rue St. Martin.
19. Théâtre de la Cité.
20. Théâtre Lyrique et Comique, afterwards des Jeunes Artistes, at the corner of the Boulevard and Rue de Lancry.
21. Théâtre de Sans-Culottes.
22. Théâtre de la Rue St. Antoine.
23. Théâtre de Doyen, Rue de Nazareth.
24. Théâtre des Jeunes Elèves, Rue Dauphine.
25. Théâtre des Victoires Nationales, Rue du Bac.

During the Republic, Consulate, and Empire, the number of theatres never rose higher than forty-four. In 1807 there were thirty-three; an imperial decree reduced them to eight. At the Restoration there were fourteen theatres, and in 1847 thirty-three.[1] At the period which we are now considering Cherubini was installed with Viotti and the famous Troupe de Monsieur at the Feydeau Theatre. Méhul reigned supreme at the Favart Theatre.[2] The veteran

[1] Aicard's *Patria*, p. 2350.

[2] It has been remarked by Arnold how strange it is that so few of the operatic masterpieces of Cherubini and Méhul, the leaders in opera at Paris, were brought out for the first time at the great theatres.

Grétry, belonging to the old order of things, and following in the new movement which had been set in motion against the Italians; the venerable Gossec, Monsigny, and Philidor; Steibelt, who should be better known; Boieldieu, then beginning to be known, and the persevering Dalayrac—all these aided in making bright the Parisian musical world. The year 1792, however, witnessed the departure of the Troupe de Monsieur now thoroughly alarmed at the turn political events were taking, and the disheartened Viotti fled to England.[3]

The crisis came in 1793; the storm burst in all its fury, and when the king mounted the scaffold Cherubini had already taken refuge at La Chartreuse de Gaillon, near Rouen, once a Carthusian monastery, but at this time the country residence of his friend Louis, an architect, whose wife was a good musician and composed dramatic music. Here, living in tranquillity and safety, he wrote his pieces called *La Liberté, et la Palinodie à Nice, canzoni di Metastasio,* of which the *Quarterly Musical Review* observes: 'These duets of one of the most able of our modern composers are in the same style as those of Clari, Steffani, and Handel, but have little to mark them as the work of a modern composer. The characteristics are the same in each movement, viz.

[3] Vide here Michaud's *Biog. Univ.* vol. i. p. 97.

in the answers and imitations between the parts, and in the modulations and frequent use of chromatics. The melodies are generally of a grave and sedate character, those in the triple time being frequently elegant. The slow movements are, perhaps, the best, and these have frequently much tenderness and pathos. We may name the first and eighth as instances. The ninth is a very happy adaptation of the words, but requiring great delicacy of execution. Indeed, the duets are not easy. We consider, then, these compositions in the light of antidotes to the disorders of the modern school, and capable of giving such a training to the mind as will prepare it for the relish of the beauties of that severe but true style in which passion, not surprise, is the object. They require, and therefore will lead to, musical knowledge and judgment; but their graceful elegance will very soon reconcile even a vitiated appetite to the admiration of their true beauties.'

The three-act opera of *Kourkourgi*, composed at this period, 1793, would have been ready for representation in 1794, but it could not be executed owing to the disorders of the 10th of August, and thus the overture was never written, nor the last part of the finale. The opera, thrust aside into a portfolio, was long afterwards brought out again and to some extent incorporated in *Ali Baba*, and, according to Place,

in *Faniska.* All that I have been able to ascertain about the libretto is that it was a very poor one, by Duveyrier Mélesville the elder, and that Kourkourgi, the hero, was a mandarin, a miser, and a coward.

Cherubini's visit to Normandy suggests the mention of his first recorded connection with Lesueur. In 1793 the latter was in trouble with his opera of *La Caverne.* Rehearsing it at the Feydeau Theatre, he experienced all kinds of ill-will and annoyance on the part of the artists in the orchestra, who styled him 'Monsieur l'Abbé,' because, previous to 1789, he had worn the ecclesiastical collar at Notre Dame when chapel-master there. Shy novice as he was, he feared to estrange both singers and instrumentalists by making any observations at the rehearsal, and only dared to address compliments. Besides, Lesueur being a bad conductor, the performance, taking everything together, could not have gone worse. Cherubini, who was present, said: 'You know how to compose music well, but not how to execute it well;' and there and then he took the bâton, and led a repetition of the work, with immense success, crowning his proceedings by hissing the actors during the three representations of the work that followed. Further, on going into Normandy he had *La Caverne* put upon the boards at Rouen, without telling Lesueur, and its success there was as

great as it had been at the rehearsal. Such was Cherubini's elaborate revenge on the singers at Paris, and his vindication of his friend's talent.
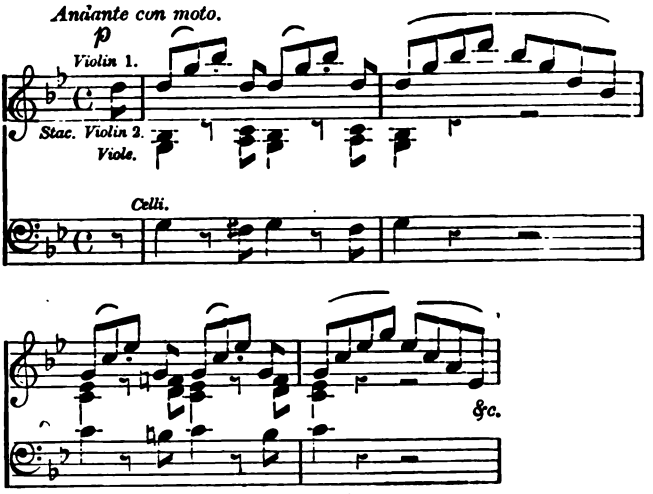
In relating the above circumstances, in his *Histoire de la Société des Concerts*, Elwart says that they took place after Cherubini's 'recent success with *Les Deux Journeés*;' if so, in or after 1800. But *La Caverne* appeared in 1793, when the incidents at the rehearsal are by several other writers said to have taken place, and when we know for certain that Cherubini paid a visit to Normandy.

It was at Chartreuse de Gaillon that the news of his father's death reached Cherubini. The funeral expenses necessitated the sale, at Florence, of a little cottage, poorly furnished, which had belonged to the Cherubinis. His paternal inheritance, therefore, only consisted of the small house on the Fiesole road, where he had been born, the rent of which, added to other sums of money, &c., for a long time sufficed to support one of his younger sisters till her death, when the property reverted to the generous brother. But Cherubini, having fallen into want himself, had at last to part with even this small estate. It was when suffering under this blow from the news of his father's death that he wrote the two-act opera of *Elisa*, with words by St. Cyr.

Cherubini returned to Paris in 1794, and on the
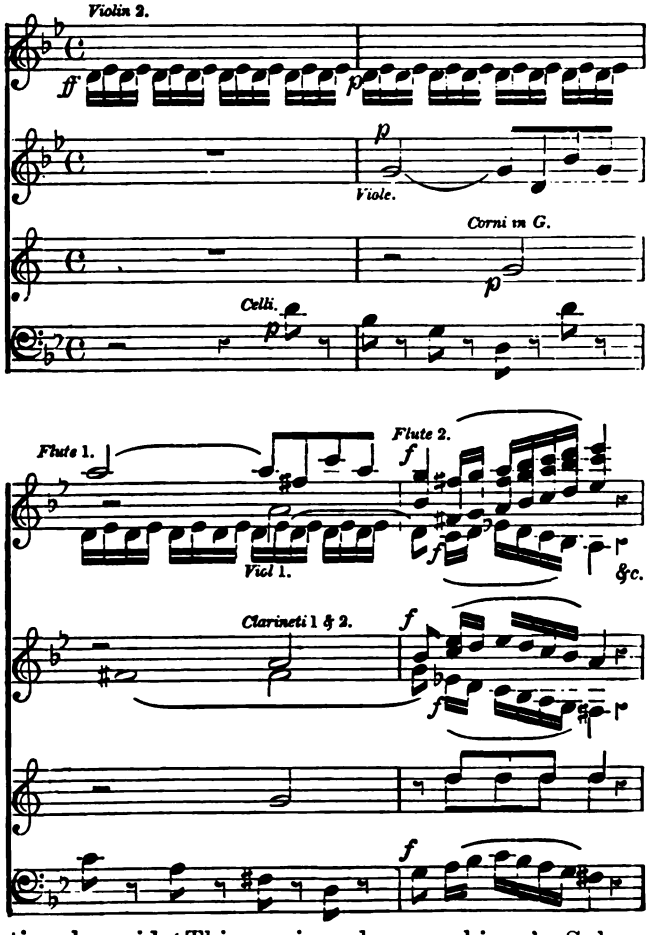
13th of December in the same year *Elisa* appeared at the Feydeau Theatre, with Madame Scio as Elisa. The general judgment on the work was, that it was 'too learned, too German,' which, in the opinion of many, was really a compliment. I proceed to give a short sketch of the dramatic action in *Elisa.*

In both the first and second acts the scene is the same, representing a part of the Mont St. Bernard Pass. After the beautiful overture, now rarely if ever performed in England, the scene opens with the celebrated introduction, where the Prior of the monastery and his attendant monks, bearing lanterns and pickaxes, are seen searching in the early morning for any travellers lost in the snow. This picturesque



movement begins with the strings alone. Then soon
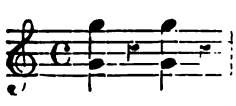
succeeds, in striking contrast, a dramatic passage, which, it may be presumed, Denne-Baron chiefly had in his mind when, speaking of the present introduc-



tion, he said, 'This music makes me shiver.' Subse-

quently the chorus come in, but only as an accompaniment to the violins in the first subject, and exclaiming, 'O ciel, daigne exaucer nos vœux;' and on the entry of the second subject, 'S'il est au fond de ces abîmes quelques malheureuses victimes des frimats, des vents désastreux;' and finally, on the repetition of the first subject, 'Daigne exaucer nos vœux.' Nothing can exceed the force and reality of this chorus, which, written in 1794, has an originality that is unmistakable. We are next introduced to Florindo, the hero of the piece, and his servant Germain. Florindo sings the fine air (Larghetto, $\frac{3}{4}$), 'Lieux sauvages, tristes climats.' To this succeeds a recitative, 'L'horreur sombre de ce glacier.' Scenes 3 and 4: Michel the letter-carrier comes by. There is a letter for Florindo, in which he is informed that Elisa has been betrothed to his rival, Sarti. In a long and impassioned scena Florindo gives vent to his feelings of sorrow and despair. Sc. 5: the Prior enters, and seeing Florindo in such distress of mind, endeavours to console him. Here there is a duet, in which the Prior entreats Florindo to come to the hospice, as night is coming on; while Florindo is not to be consoled or persuaded. The effect of this dramatic piece is heightened by the bell of the monastery beginning to toll. Here, as Denne-Baron observes, 'the celebrated master has shown all that he pos-

sessed of harmonic resources, and his uncommon skill in uniting modulations.' The horns sound G



in octaves on the first and third beats in every bar to the end of the piece, and the bell tolls with the horns. Meanwhile dusk has set in; and all the time the Prior is singing, 'Vous entendez la cloche qui rappelle les voyageurs;' and the scene ends by his persuading Florindo to accompany him. Scene 6: Elisa and Laura, her servant, appear with a guide. Elisa faints with fatigue. The attendants of the hospice are at hand, and she is carried off thither; and so ends the first act, of which Miel observes: 'C'est peut-être ce que la scène a du plus pathétique.'

The second act, which, it is generally said, is in no way to be compared with the first, opens with a chorus of Savoyards exclaiming, 'Vive la France!' and 'Partons, allons pour Paris;' and allusion is evidently intended to the passage of the French over the Mont St. Bernard. All this is disenchantment. Scene 2: the Prior and Elisa converse. The latter discovers from him that Florindo is at the hospice. Here Elisa sings an expressive cantabile air ($\frac{2}{4}$): 'Je vais revoir tout ce que j'aime.' In the third scene Germain enters, and Elisa asks him what has become of Florindo. Germain replies that Florindo left a let-

ter that morning, saying that, having been betrayed, he knows how to die. A grand trio ($\frac{3}{4}$), 'Il veut périr,' now succeeds, in which dismay at last gives way to blank speechless despair. The voices of Elisa, Laura, and the Prior die away; the instruments also, the violas alone showing any sign of life up to the close. Scenes 4 and 5: a storm; lightning; Florindo is seen descending the path, followed by Michel. The tempest redoubles its fury; a bridge over which they had crossed gives way. Scene 6: Elisa hurries in with Laura, and approaches the precipice. She sees Florindo: 'Grands dieux (*sic*), c'est Florindo.' Florindo replies, most unheroically: 'Sauve-moi.' An avalanche now hastens the dénouement, and Florindo is lost to sight. A chorus above, and one below in the chasm, answer each other. Florindo is discovered buried in the snow, and appears. The usual raptures are succeeded by a general chorus.

Such is a brief sketch of *Elisa*, with a libretto by no means worthy of the music. If it is really such a poem that has banished so beautiful a work from the stage, it affords but another out of the many illustrations of the truth that the doggerel of a librettist can damn an opera from the first. But, putting aside the libretto, we see that, whereas the prevailing character of Cherubini's operas is intellectual rather than emotional beauty, *Elisa* is an ex-

ception to the rule, for it touches the heart. In his attempt to unite the Italian melody with the solid harmonies of the German school, he had not yet left that sweet melody so completely as he did in his next opera. Composed under the sorrow of bereavement, *Elisa*, were it not for *Les Deux Journées*, would be unique for its tenderness among Cherubini's operas.

It was in 1795 that the Paris Conservatoire was founded. After the 14th of July 1789, Sarrette, captain on the staff of the National Guard at Paris, had collected together forty-five musicians, as a nucleus for the performance of the music of the Guard. In the May of 1790, the municipality took this body under their charge, and raised the number of musicians to seventy. On the 9th of June in the same year, a decree was issued for the formation of an 'Ecole gratuite de Musique de la Garde Nationale.' By his zeal, Sarrette came more immediately under the notice of the government; and on the 8th of November 1793 (18th Brumaire, an 2) a decree of the Convention created an Institut National de Musique, consisting of 115 artists and 600 students, for the purpose of 'celebrating musically the national festivals.' The place for the Institute was situated in the Rue St. Joseph, the site being now occupied by baths. By a law of the 16th Thermidor, an 3 (August 3, 1795), the Na-

tional Convention suppressed the Musique de la Garde Nationale. The same day, however, on the report of one Joseph Chenier, measures were taken for founding a Conservatoire of Music, which at length resulted in its establishment on the 25th of October 1795. Sarrette was appointed director, with five inspectors, Lesueur, Grétry, Gossec, Méhul, and Cherubini, the three latter teaching counterpoint. The classes were opened for students a little more than a year afterwards, on the 30th of October 1796. The Conservatoire engaged correspondents abroad, such as Salieri and Haydn at Vienna, Paisiello at Naples, Winter at Munich, and Zingarelli at Rome. A special commission, consisting of Berton, Catel, Cherubini, Eler, Framery, Gossec, Lacépède, Langlé, Lesueur, Martini, Méhul, Provy, Rey, and Rodolphe, was ultimately appointed for compiling a treatise on harmony for the school, and assembled on the 2d Nivose, an 9 (22d December 1801). Several meetings having been dedicated to the consideration of various systems of harmony, the commission finally agreed to accept that of Catel on the 10th Ventose (29th February 1802). Méhul 'reported progress,' and the resolutions passed by the Conservatoire de Musique with respect to the adoption of Catel's *Treatise on Harmony* were drawn up and signed by Sarrette as president. Prizes were eventually given

to successful pupils, who were even sent to Italy for purposes of study at the expense of the state. In 1806, a separate department of 'declamation' was formed, composed of eighteen of the most talented pupils, twelve being men and six women; and for each man there was a gift of 1000 francs, and for each woman 900 francs. Such an institution as the Conservatoire soon brought out a number of distinguished instrumentalists and vocalists.

CHAPTER V.

1795–1797.

Solfeggi—Cherubini's pupils—His republican hymns—Foundation of the Institute—Cherubini's marriage—Notice of his children—The *Medea*.

In the year of his appointment as an inspector of the Conservatoire Cherubini commenced writing solfeggi, the manuscripts of which are now in the Conservatoire Library. His labours as a teacher also now began, and he who had been the assiduous pupil of Sarti ultimately became the master of Kuhn, Tariot, Auber, Berton, Baillot, Batton, Carafa, Leborne, Halévy, Boieldieu, and Zimmermann, to more than one of whom he imparted that nobility of style so peculiarly his own. Of these, Batton in 1817 carried off the *grand prix* for composition, given by the Institute. Halévy, for five years Cherubini's pupil, took it in 1819, and Leborne in 1820. Cherubini made his pupils do what he had done himself under Sarti, viz. copy out, at times, works by other composers; for he said that although such works might be mediocre, yet they served this purpose, 'pour apprendre d'eux à ne pas donner dans le travers.'

Fétis denies that Boieldieu ever was Cherubini's pupil, but Halévy writes: 'Boieldieu went and placed

himself under Cherubini's direction, . . . and asked him the secret of rendering the musical idea more copious, the thought more complete, the form more living and salient. The disciple, worthy of the master, returned strengthened and animated with a more powerful inspiration; the beautiful works which he has written since are a testimony to that.'[1] This was shortly after the production of the *Calife*, and when Boieldieu had gone through few studies in his art.

Cherubini being now a government official, we can see how it was that he came to write some of his eight republican hymns. Though the composition of these does not begin to date, as Cherubini states, from 1795, but from 1792, yet three of them were written after the year of his appointment as one of the inspectors of the Conservatoire; while Denne-Baron states that as early as the June of 1794 Cherubini was called to fulfil official functions as professor at the Ecole de Musique de la Garde Nationale. This was the time for patriotic songs, and Cherubini, forced by straitened circumstances to accept more than one civic post, could hardly avoid writing something for the Mountain. Clément deems the composition of the republican hymns far more excusable in a foreigner like Cherubini, who had no special tie binding him to the French

[1] *Notice sur A. Adam*, p. 15.

monarchy, than in his French fellow composers; but when, according to the *Moniteur* of the 26th of January 1796, De Loménie finds Cherubini, 'the ancient protégé of Marie Antoinette,' presiding at a musical party to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. and directing the execution of a chorus, in which may be heard 'the oath of hatred to royalty,' such proceeding is less defensible. But is the tale true? Of his eight republican compositions Cherubini says, 'These pieces, of each of which I have not the exact date, were composed at different periods of the revolution, counting from this year (1795) up to the year 1798.' Clément, who tells us more about these hymns than Cherubini himself, omits the 'Hymn to the Pantheon,' which Cherubini mentions first in his catalogue, and marks as published. The Ode for the 10th of August 1792, the words by Lebrun of the Institute, made some stir, and has called forth from Clément the following remarks: 'The expression of the most violent passions in the text contrasts with the harmonious charm of this composition. The accompaniment is formed by clarinets, horns, and bassoons, which play during the burden of the song an interesting march.' The 'Hymn to Fraternity' (the words by Th. Désorgues) was sung in the gardens of the Tuileries on the 1st Vendémiaire, an 2 (Sept. 22d, 1793). Then we

have the 'Ode on the 18th Fructidor,' the day of the conspiracy of the poniards; the 'Salpêtre Républicain,' sung in Pluviose, an 2 (Jan. 1794), at the fête for the opening of the works for the extraction of saltpetre. The 'Hymn and Funeral March for the Death of General Hoche' (the words by M. J. Chenier) was sung in the Champ de Mars on the 10th Vendémiaire, an 6 (Oct. 1st, 1797), in the state funeral celebrated in honour of that distinguished soldier:

'Du haut de la voûte éternelle,
Jeune héros, reçois nos pleurs!'

'This composition,' says Clément, 'which the key of G minor renders so mournful, has every beauty.' It was subsequently represented at the Grand Opéra as a one-act piece, under the title of *Pompe Funèbre*, with additional instrumentation, on the 11th of October 1797, and, according to Arnold, in 1798. Then comes the 'Hymn for the Fête de la Jeunesse' on the 10th Germinal, an 6 (March 30th, 1798); and lastly, the 'Hymn for the Fête de la Reconnaissance' on the 10th Prairial, an 6 (May 29th, 1798). Clément remarks that the accompaniment of the latter is treated in the most melodious manner. It is curious that in the face of these eight republican hymns the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* should assert, that 'although ... the change produced in men's ideas by the revolution exerted a deep influence on his (Che-

rubini's) style, it is a characteristic fact that the patriotic enthusiasm, which at that period seized even upon musicians, and impelled them to compose revolutionary songs, &c., did not affect Cherubini. He wrote nothing of the kind; while, after Rouget de Lisle's "Chant de l'Armée du Rhin" (the 'Marseillaise'), Méhul composed "Le Chant du Départ," "Le Chant de Victoire," and "Le Chant de Retour;" Gossec, "La Ronde du Camp," the "Hymn to Reason," the "Hymn for the Festival of the Supreme Being;" Gaveaux, "Le Reveil du Peuple," &c.' Castil-Blaze in his *Académie* mentions a 'Hymne funèbre sur la Mort du Général Joubert' (the words by Chaussard), and a 'Hymne à la Victoire' (the words by Flins), as compositions of Cherubini, which were performed on the stage at the Opéra National (as well as the 'Hymne à la Fraternité,' and the 'Ode sur le 18 Fructidor), but Cherubini makes no mention of these two hymns. There was, as we see above, a 'Chant de Victoire' by Méhul.
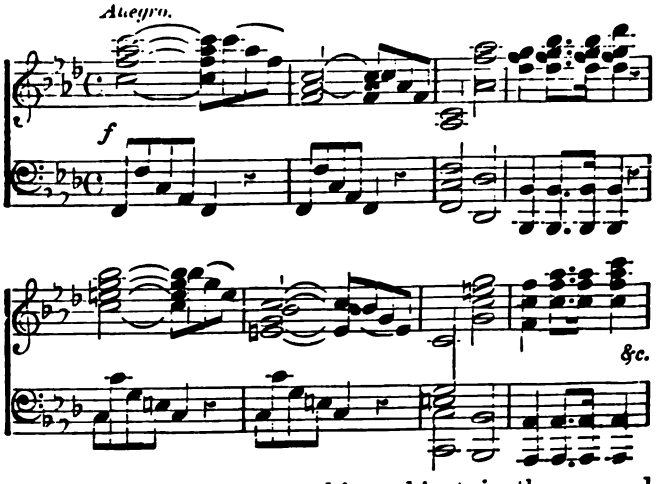
On the 25th of October 1795 the Institute was founded, and the three places assigned to musicians were bestowed on Méhul, Gossec, and Grétry; thus excluding Cherubini, who, however, was an Italian, and so could hardly be placed before three famous French composers. In 1816, Louis XVIII. increased to six the number of places reserved for musicians.

It was in 1795 that Cherubini married Cécile Tourette, already mentioned, who was a faithful companion to him through life, and bore him three children—a son and two daughters: Salvador, an artist of repute, and inspector of the 'beaux-arts,' who died just before the late war between France and Germany; Victoire, the elder daughter, who married M. Turcas, military commissary of Paris; Zénobie, the younger daughter, who married the celebrated artist Hippolyte Rossellini. A granddaughter of Cherubini married M. Duret, a sculptor and member of the Institute. Madame Cherubini died at Neuilly on the 1st of July 1864.

Il Perruchiero is mentioned by the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* as appearing in 1796, and which he supposes to be an old intermezzo of Cherubini's arranged for the stage. There is no mention of this work in the catalogue.
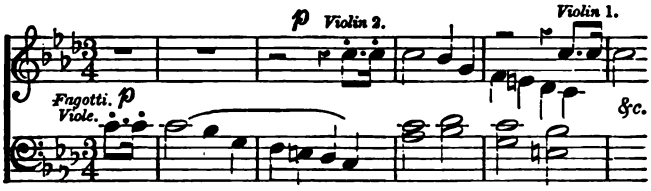
Lodoïska had been somewhat gay. After a three years' interval appeared *Elisa*, a work of a graver cast. Before the composition of these works there had been a struggle going on in Cherubini's mind between two styles. A perfect education, a natural bias, made him lean towards what was strictly classical. As an Italian he might feel some patriotic love for the popular music of his native land. But he might suspect the fate of the Italian music of that

age, and he therefore chose the path which Glück had taken, and into which Beethoven was hurrying. The profound solemnity of a true dramatic school was to be attained by him in the delineation of a tragedy. *Lodoïska* and *Elisa* were but steps on to the *Medea*, the severest of all Cherubini's works, and where, among his operas, he is most in earnest. Alas that the librettist should not have done his duty! Had Hoffman written a proper book, *Medea* would now perhaps be everywhere known. A few words as to the overture. It is perfect, foreshadowing the whole sad story in an awful and pathetic manner. Mark the breadth, the momentum of the opening, the rolling as it were of the tide of human passion.

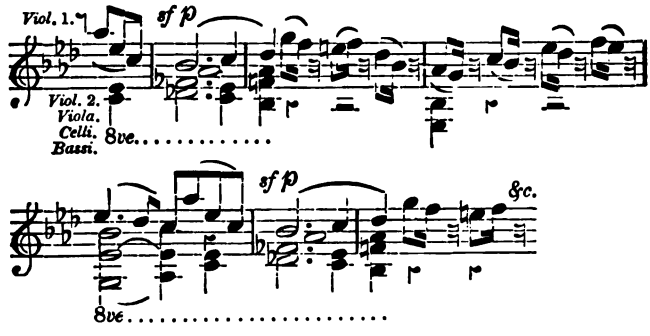


What a contrast to this subject is the second
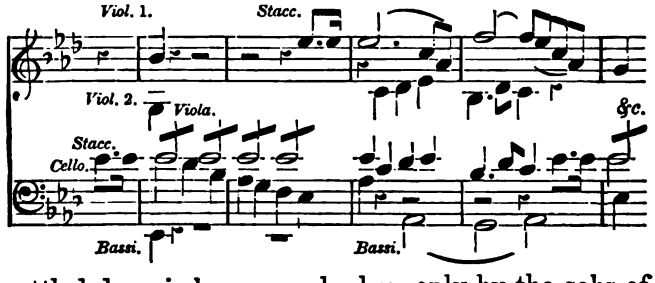
motivo, so simple and unobtrusive, yet so full of



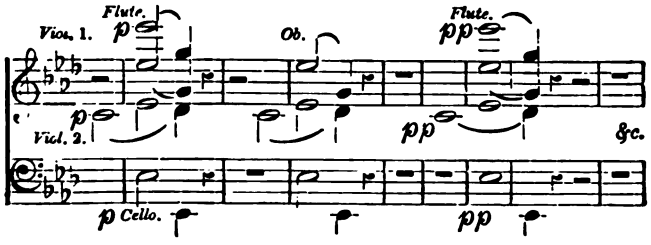
feeling, with its pendant a little further on where the emotion would seem to swell with the intensity



of grief, and then that sorrowful passage, with its haunting melody for the violins, until the silence of



settled despair has come, broken only by the sobs of the instruments!



But I am speaking of an incomparable poem known to most lovers of classical music. Mr. George Grove says of it: 'The intention of the overture—doubtless designed to reflect the story, though quite independent of the opera itself—every hearer may best interpret for himself. Though a most effective composition, and as an orchestral piece of music full of beauties, it appears to the writer to belong more to the region of pure music—of the overtures to the *Zauberflöte* and *Cosi fan Tutti*—than to those more romantic and picturesque compositions of which Beethoven gave the world the earliest examples in his *Coriolan* and *Leonora*, and which Mendelssohn continued in the *Hebrides* and *Melusina*, and other grand and delightful compositions of this class. With all its power and skill, Cherubini's mind was too conservative and classical to permit of his entering on this path in the orchestra. But his overtures are so pure, so free from everything petty or commonplace, and so abounding in beauty, that while listening

to them one may well be pardoned for forgetting that any school of music ever existed but that of which they form so bright and enduring an ornament.'

And now I hope to be excused for indulging in rather a long quotation. The admirable criticism of the late Mr. Chorley on the *Medea* says all that I could wish to say, and better than I could express it in my own words.[2]
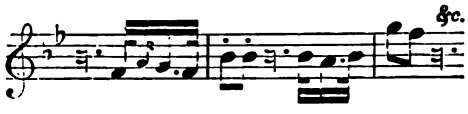
In 1844 the repertoire of the Frankfort theatre 'was tolerably rich and wide, including such works as the *Unterbrochene Opferfest* of Winter, the *Fernand Cortez* of Spontini, and (greatest rarity of all) the *Medea* of Cherubini. Though that fine composer, by birth Italian, has always been more thoroughly relished as a composer in Germany than in his native country, or in the city of his adoption, Paris;—though his *Les Deux Journées* still keeps the stage there (an opera of which it seems impossible to procure a hearing in England),[3] his greatest tragical drama in music can hardly be said to exist anywhere. It was only retained on the Frankfort list possibly for the purpose of maintaining the dignified and classical character of the theatre. Seldom were the dignity and classicality of *Medea*, I suspect, allowed a

[2] I have ventured to add a few simple musical illustrations.
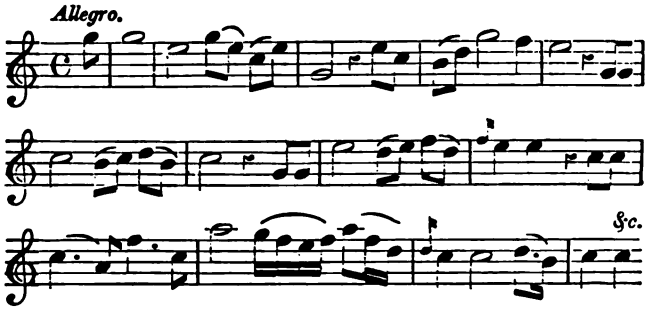
[3] This was written in 1854.

chance of vindicating themselves to the sprightly audience of men of business and passing tourists that attends the Frankfort theatre. And the performance of the opera, that I heard in August 1844, was notoriously a piece of complaisance on the part of Herr Guhr, then the musical director, to Dr. Mendelssohn; being in this respect, too, worthy of commemoration among the pleasant illustrations of artistic intercourse and courtesy in Germany. I believe that no musician or amateur, who then heard Cherubini's *Medea* for the first time, left the Frankfort theatre without enthusiastic admiration of the music, and without deep regret that an opera so sublime should so soon have passed into the rank of those poems written in a dead language, which, though from time to time disinterred and interpreted for the benefit of the scholar, have no longer a popular existence or acceptance. The music to *Medea*, in obedience to the arrangement of the drama, is singular in construction. The opera might be objected to as one too largely made up of solos and duets, were it not for the ingenuity with which the chorus is employed, to heighten and work up several of the movements, so as to conceal the monotony which else must have resulted from such a general want of complication. After the wild and fiery overture in F minor, known to the frequenters of our classical

concerts, the music commences with a chorus of the female attendants of Dirce, on a gracefully delicate motivo, and deliciously instrumented—the viole divided, and the bassoons supporting the second violins in the airy triplets with which they bear up and connect, as it were, the *disjecta membra* of a subject thus broken:
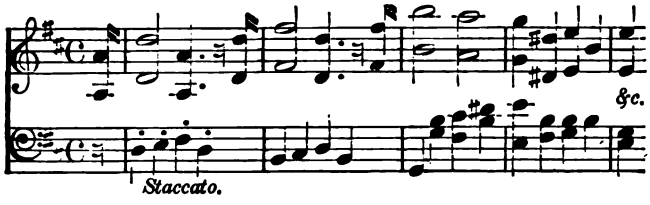


This is followed by an air of parade for the chosen bride of Jason, which, though brilliantly and buoyantly accompanied, is not effective, owing to the dryness and insufficient interest of the vocal part.[4]



'The Grand March—which introduces Creon (the basso), Jason (the tenor), and the full chorus—is

[4] This is surely deemed one of the beautiful airs in the work?

one of Cherubini's stateliest marches, almost approaching the stateliness of Handel.
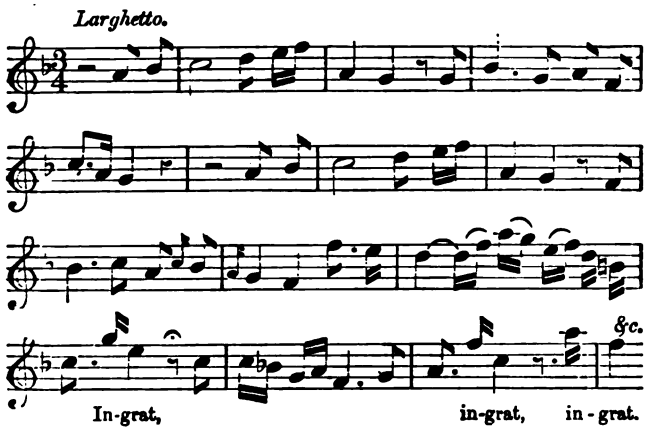


'Its dignity and vigour will be best appreciated by comparing it with such a classical march as that by Spontini in *La Vestale.* The solo of Jason addressed to Dirce is weak: what composer is there, indeed, who has been able to make the false lover in opera interesting? There are few things, however, finer in music of any age than the following solo, with chorus and principal voices, in which Creon invokes a blessing on the coming nuptials. Here, again, the orchestral portion is rich and sonorous in no common degree; having that well-nourished substance in its tenor, or central part, which the modern race of effect-mongers too largely disdain; rising and swelling into a serene and noble grandeur, befitting a prayer, which was supposed to reach the divinities of Olympus on their thrones of "eternal tranquillity." This solo offers almost the last moment of repose and happiness which is to be found in the opera. The next scene abruptly introduces the Colchian

sorceress, to upbraid and threaten, and in turn to be warned and menaced by Creon, who fancies that he has power strong enough to drive the evil influence forth. This is done in a piece of declamatory music so full of force and judicial terror, that any mortal woman must quail before it, were she even among queens imperious as Athalia's self. Not so, however, Medea, the sorceress-sovereign. She allows the storm to break on her head, but it does not bow or bend her. Retaining Jason when the rest are gone, she endeavours once again to cast her enchantments round him; at first by the tale of her sorrow. Her air in F major $\frac{3}{4}$—virtually the sortita of the prima donna, and a fine specimen of Cherubini's cantabile style—has still its singularities. The abrupt cry, not to call it jerk, on the word "ingrat!" which finishes many of the phrases, and which unexpectedly starts out simultaneously with the last notes of the closing
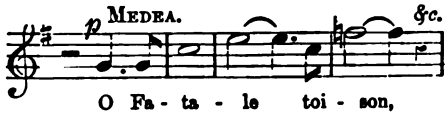


In-grat,

symphony, falls on English ears as one of those bit-by-bit settings of single words, which, however specious, are so false in point of art, whenever, as here, they interfere with the general spirit of the composition.



'But were this blemish fifty times as great as it is, it would be forgiven and forgotten for the sake of the duet (in E minor) betwixt Medea and Jason, "Perfides ennemis," which closes the first act—one of the most highly wrought and thoroughly sustained explosions of passion existing in opera. The vocal parts are in the most forceful declamatory style, grand and simple, generally broken; yet, where relief is needed, subsiding into large continuous phrases, as on the first introduction of the words,
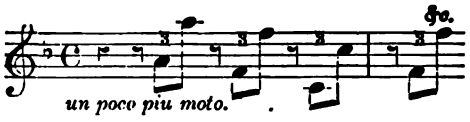


The orchestra is treated with a fire, an amplitude, an ever-increasing animation and interest, the remem-
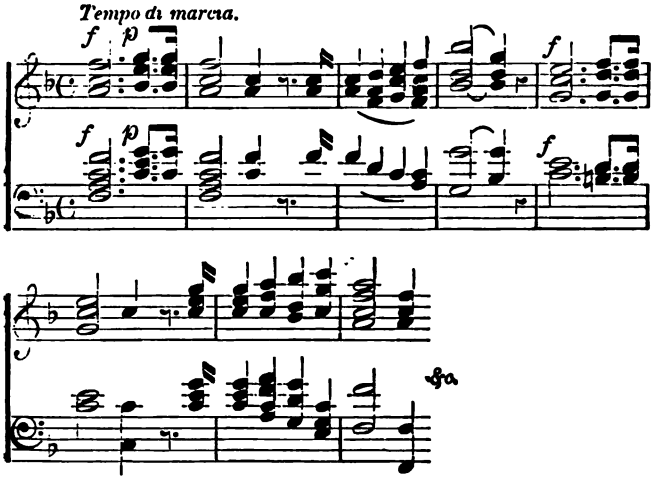
brance of which arrests the breath. The scene may be, perhaps, too long for the possibility of its being adequately supported by the pair who are in dialogue; but who can wonder if the composer, conscious of such riches of resource, was seduced into excess? On considering it without reference to this practical difficulty, admiration is unbounded; and even with the faltering, exhausted Medea and Jason before us, whom the Frankfort theatre afforded, the ear was so borne along, and the attention was so fascinated by that wondrous and brilliant orchestra, as to be incapable for the moment of cavil, question, or regret. The close of this first act of *Medea* is, I repeat, one of the marvels of music; almost in opera what one of Lear's great scenes is in tragedy. After such a scene, it was impossible to raise the excitement higher—difficult even to recommence. But the force and fervour of Cherubini throughout his *Medea* are remarkable. The instrumental introduction to the second act has an importance and a character which at once compel the ear to listen; and after three short scenes of spoken dialogue comes the first of two further duets, in which Medea entreats from Creon permission to tarry a while longer. To this some variety is given by fragments of dialogue and chorus being skilfully inwrought with an excellent courage; heightening the probability of the

effect, and animating the scene. Next succeeds an arietta for Neris, the attendant of Medea, deliciously scored, yet felt to be an interruption rather than a repose—a fruitless lull in the storm, which is driving on with its current of wreck and ruin, however musically necessary to give the principal singer a moment's breathing-time. Then comes the last duet between Medea and Jason, in which the tempest breaks out with a yet wilder fury than before. In this will be observed one of the earliest and finest specimens of the tremolando—that expedient since so vulgarised by misuse—here called into play to picture the fever of wretchedness, suspense, dismay, in the deserted Medea, and of cowardly shrinking in her false lover. As a whole, however, this duet can in no respect be said to surpass the duet of the first act, as was demanded by the sentiment and the situation. We are now at the grand bridal scene, which sets a seal on the wretched woman's agony. The important portion of this is the religious march and chorus, to which the procession moves, since the central slow movement, or concerted piece, introduced according to canonical usage, is weak, save at the moment of interruption, when Medea's ejaculation (this, strangely enough, is spoken, the orchestra alone giving the sinister contrast required),
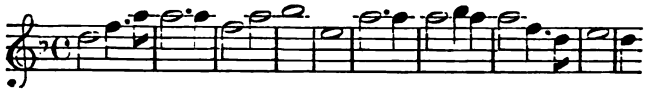
"Ecoutez aussi ma voix, O Hyménée!"



reminds us that there is present at the banquet a Fury, who has come thither unbidden. But the march is worthy of all honour and study.



'All that is known and conjectured of the Greek modes was obviously familiar to Cherubini, as must



be felt in the unisonal choral hymn, "Fils de Bacchus," and in the ordinance of the instrumental strain which moves in antiphony, contrast, and lastly in

support of it.[5] Those who are curious in the matter will find much interest in comparing this movement with the Greek religious marches of Glück. In them the sentiment of beauty is far stronger and sweeter. Cherubini is comparatively antique, remote, in some measure cold. I have heard this ingeniously accounted for on the hypothesis that the trouble in the rite caused by the presence of Medea had entered his mind; that he wished to paint the bridal torches dimmed, and the garlands withered, and the flutes and recorders turned to unconscious wailing, by the spell of her ill-boding presence. But to me this is a far-fetched solution—a theory made after the fact. These impressions of coming gloom and ruin should be projected (so to say) across the scene from Medea's self, but not mingle with it; or, if the voices of the singers should be afraid, on seeing that pale witness of their praise and prayer, the hymn itself should have no fear. A right conception of the moment would vividly contrast the jubilation of the people and the pent-up wrath of the avenger, not fuse them together. But this again, as Sir Thomas Browne says, "is philosophy;" and the rationale of the character of this music I imagine to lie in no

[5] 'Greek art,' says Halévy, 'seems to be seated in the study-rooms of Méhul and Cherubini, as well as in the studios of David' (*Derniers Souvenirs*, p. 212).

such subtle distinctions and conception as the above considerations embrace, so much as in the individual nature of Cherubini, to which sweetness, as distinguished from dryness, seems to have been sparingly given. The impression of beauty produced by his works is, comparatively speaking, faint and rare; in Glück's operas it is everywhere. Yet the scene is, to the close of the act, of very high quality; and the final burst with which Medea rushes to the altar, and snatches thence a blazing brand, besides being dramatically fine, as carrying expectation forward, makes another of those declamatory moments of which this great part is only too full. When I saw it on the stage, it brought back to me those lines from Barry Cornwall's poem to Pasta:

> "Now thou art like some wingèd thing that cries
> Above some city, flaming fast to death."

'There still remains the consummation of Medea's vengeance, the triumph of her power, which tramples beneath its feet her own remorse, in its fiendish resolution to immolate and to destroy. This would seem to have been the favourite portion of the opera with its composer. The "death and wild despair" with which it is filled are "lengthened out" with a vengeance. The storm-prelude with which it opens—one of the finest storms in music which exist, Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* not forgotten—has almost

the development of a grand overture, occupying twenty pages of the score. From the time that Medea appears on the scene, in the midst of this tumult of the elements, she is never again allowed to quit the stage. The remainder of the opera consists of two scenas for her, both on the grandest scale; the first with her children, the second as the triumphant Nemesis, dealing destruction round her. To point out all the noble passages with which these tremendous scenes are filled, and the manner in which the composer's inspiration was always present to himself, always equal to the moment, is not possible. The examples of declamatory music which they contain are only exceeded by Glück, inasmuch as he could render force as violent and frenzy as tempestuous, with a larger admixture of beauty. But, on the other hand, the instrumental portion has a verve, a variety, and a might which, at the period when Glück wrote, were undiscovered. There is nothing in Beethoven's *Fidelio* worthier of close study and fervent admiration. One hundred years hence it will remain to be as new as the organ-music of Bach, as the choral fugues of Handel, as the melodies of Mozart are now. Perhaps then it may be, like them, resorted to as a frequent object of delight, comparison, and instruction. The practicability of the work may then be laid out of con-

sideration, and the countless examples it contains of skill, grandeur, and freedom of vigour may be relished and considered as they deserve.

'Such being a few among the excellences of this noble work—the one classical opera of more recent date than Glück's in which the grandeur of Glück is approached—the universal indifference, if not positive oblivion, into which it has fallen, is worth considering with reference to its cause. It cannot be said that *Medea* has passed from the stage, because of the world's resolution to have no more Grecian stories. Long after it had vanished thence, Simone Mayer's weaker music on the same fable, ill-arranged enough, drew crowds to every opera-house in Europe, to see the Colchian Queen and Sorceress presented by Pasta. More lately still have we seen the life of old French classical tragedy asserted by Mademoiselle Rachel. Nay, to take the strongest and most conclusive instance possible, can it be forgotten how, when a translation of the *Antigone* was played a few years since in a London theatre, for the sole purpose of introducing Mendelssohn's choruses to the tragedy, which were then a novelty, though the music failed to please, owing to inefficient execution, the drama attracted delighted crowds, night after night, to witness its representation? For every genuine creation of which a rea-

sonably good interpretation is possible, there is always, I firmly and increasingly believe, a public to be found—a public willing to allow for the taste of an olden time, to be patient with some tediousness, to show humility in accepting that which is strange. But Cherubini's *Medea* hardly comes within the circle of works thus described. It is an opera of which the fair execution (as we now understand the word) is hardly possible. I have never seen or heard on the stage an actress who, supposing her to command the tragical requisites for the part of Medea, had physical power to execute Cherubini's music,—with the exception of Madame Stöckl Heinefetter, and, possibly, Mademoiselle Cruvelli. I am told by old German opera-goers that this Medea was one of Madame Milder's grand parts; but no one—not even Madame Schröder Devrient in her best day—seems precisely to have replaced Madame Milder.[6] Even before the tremendous third act commenced, the zealous young lady (Fräulein Neuther) to whom the part was allotted at Frankfort sank into a state of utter impotent weariness, which, however justifiable, was totally fatal to the closing portion of the tragedy. From this there is no deliverance by strong will—none by the most exquisite musical culture. Once in

[6] What would Mr. Chorley have said had he heard Mdlle. Tietjens in the part?

a century may come a Catalani, with a voice, as it were, of adamant and gold—of everything that is most enduring and precious—capable of undergoing the strain and fatigue of such a long display of unmeasured emotion; but after Catalani's compass and lungs are found, we must then ask for Pasta's grandeur of expression, and delicacy of reading, and statuesque sublimity of attitude, and withering scorn, and fearful vengeance, and maternal remorse, ere the creation of the musician can be rightly filled up.

'The charming songstress and capital actress to whom the part of Medea was confided on the production of that work at the Opéra Comique in Paris, in 1797—Madame Scio—died in the prime of her glory of a pulmonary affection, which, it has been said, was exasperated, if not brought on, by her singing in this very opera. It must be further owned that the entire part is written most ungraciously for the voice—that besides its merciless length and demand upon the energies, it perpetually claims qualities which are not vocal;—in this how different it is from the music of Handel, of Glück, of Mozart, of all the great Germans, in short, who have thoroughly understood the means which they have had to employ, and who have known that greatness bends to its materials—does not break them! That a man

who, like Cherubini, was born in Italy, and who had commenced his career not merely by patching Italian operas, but by composing in the modish Italian style, should have ever arrived at so murderous a disregard of his singers, seems at first sight curious. Yet his is not a solitary phenomenon. A like cruelty to the voices (though less in its degree) may be complained of in Spontini's operas. The want of sweetness in the nature of the artist, which universal testimony ascribes to Cherubini, may have caused this want of concession and charm in his music; and if it rendered himself moody, sarcastic, unsympathising with the young and harsh among his contemporaries, it has done him the greater wrong of interposing a fatal barrier betwixt his great and magnificent ideas, and the world that is in no wise averse to anything great or magnificent. It was sad, on leaving the Frankfort opera-house—after an evening so signally to be marked with a white stone in the calendar of holidays—to be satisfied that there were few reasonable chances of ever hearing Cherubini's *Medea* again, and fewer chances still of ever hearing it executed in anything like accordance with the power and poetry of the composer.'[7]

It has been performed several times in England.

[7] *Modern German Music*, vol. ii. p. 222.

The last performance was on the 3d December in 1870 at Covent Garden. Mdlle. Tietjens was admirable as Medea, otherwise the performance was not satisfactory. In Germany, Herr Lachner has put the dialogue to recitative, and Moscheles wrote shortly before his own death: 'It was a great undertaking, but I have at last realised my desire to hear Cherubini's *Medea* with Franz Lachner's Recitatives; but the intense interest with which I followed every note was too much for me.'[8]

The first representation of *Medée* took place at the theatre Feydeau on the 13th of March 1797, and a journal called the *Censeur* made the following remark on it: 'Cherubini's music is often melodious, and sometimes manly, but you find reminiscences and imitations of Méhul's manner.' To this Méhul himself replied: 'O censor,' he said, 'you do not know this great artist. But I, who know him, and who admire him because I know him well,—I say, and can prove to all Europe that the inimitable author of *Démophon*, of *Lodoïska*, of *Elisa*, and of the *Medea*, has never had need of imitating in order to be by turns elegant or full of feeling, graceful or tragic—to be, in a word, this Cherubini that some persons would accuse of being an imitator, but whom, unfortunately,

[8] The *Life of Moscheles*, adapted from the German by A. D. Coleridge, Esq., end of vol. ii.

they do not fail to imitate on every possible occasion. This artist, justly celebrated, can find one censor to attack him; but he will have for defenders, all who admire him, that is to say, all those who are made for feeling and appreciating grand talent.'

On the 17th of April 1800, the *Medea* with translated text by Herklotz, was performed at Berlin with Mme. Schick as Medea. In 1814, Mme. Milder-Hauptmann undertook the part in Vienna. The opera was a favourite with Schubert. M. Clément tells us that on asking Auber what his opinion was of *Medea* he received the curt answer, 'C'est la musique bien faite.' For more than a year Cherubini now comparatively rested from composition, as though exhausted with the effort of producing the grandest of all his operas.

CHAPTER VI.

1797–1800.

Napoleon and Cherubini—Their mutual antagonism—*L'Hôtellerie Portugaise*—*La Punition*—The pasticcio *La Prisonnière*, by Boieldieu and Cherubini—The latter becomes one of the jury for examining works for the Grand Opera—*Les Deux Journées*—Opinions on the opera—The *Escapes*, by Attwood.

BEFORE Napoleon became First Consul, he had been on familiar terms with Cherubini. One evening, when an opera of Cherubini was being performed, and he and Napoleon were present in the same box, Napoleon turned to Cherubini and said: 'My dear Cherubini, you are certainly an excellent musician; but really your music is so noisy and complicated, that I can make nothing of it;' to which Cherubini replied: 'My dear general, you are certainly an excellent soldier; but, in regard to music, you must excuse me if I don't think it necessary to adapt my compositions to your comprehension.' This is said to have been the beginning of their estrangement. The biographers state that if Napoleon wanted Cherubini, he had always to go in search of him,

the composer showing his indifference to the conqueror by never taking the initiative and seeking out Napoleon.

In 1797, Napoleon returned from Italy and directed the musical taste of the capital by his admiration of the Italian composers to the depreciation of the German. He had brought with him from Italy a march of Paisiello composed expressly for him, and wished it to be performed. He accordingly sent it to the Conservatoire. Sarrette, the director, thought this occasion a good opportunity for letting Napoleon hear something really first-rate as well as Paisiello's poor march; and also for showing him what the newly-founded Conservatoire could do in the way of a performance, and the progress made by the students. Accordingly, Cherubini's hymn and funeral march for the death of General Hoche were settled upon for performance on the 28th of December, before the Conservatoire, Napoleon, and his ministers. Every one about Napoleon highly praised it. But, whether vexed at a performance which, it is said, did not go off well, or at another hero besides himself being praised, or at the originality of the music which had so little in common with Paisiello, Napoleon came up to Cherubini after the concert, and without saying a word about the latter's work, launched forth into exaggerated praises of Paisiello, whom he

styled the best composer of the age; and in order to deprive Cherubini of taking the honour of a second place among living composers, asserted that, after Paisiello, Zingarelli was the only one who knew how to compose beautiful music, whereupon Cherubini replied disdainfully, 'Passe encore pour Paisiello, mais Zingarelli!' This said in a low tone somewhat startled Napoleon, and it seems likely that he did not forget Cherubini's reply. Picchianti says that Cherubini did not reply to Napoleon at all, but on this point nearly all the biographers are against him. In the account of the above performance, before Napoleon, Fétis first of all says: 'General Bonaparte on returning from his brilliant campaign in Italy, asked the Conservatoire to play before him a very poor march composed for him by Paisiello. Advantage was taken of this circumstance for letting him hear a cantata and funeral march, written by Cherubini for the obsequies of General Hoche. Whether the hero was displeased at another military glory being sung before him; whether he was hurt, that they had not confined themselves to what he had desired to hear, he showed ill-temper.' Compare this with his statement in another place: 'In 1797, General Bonaparte put to competition the composition of a funeral march on occasion of the death of General Hoche; Paisiello and Cherubini each sent the piece
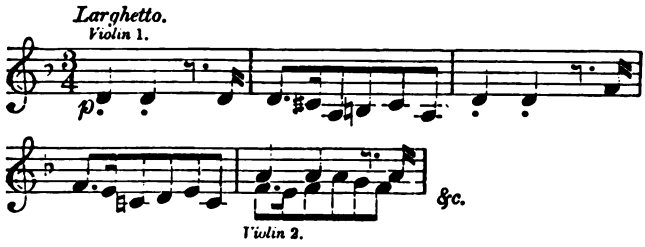
demanded.'[1] This latter version agrees with Arnold as to Cherubini's work, and with Lafage, who says that Cherubini and Paisiello each sent in a march, and that Napoleon, against the opinion of those around him, gave the preference to Paisiello's. Napoleon, after this, continues Lafage, wished to hear Paisiello's march again at a smaller concert, and it was at this second performance that Cherubini's funeral march for General Hoche was performed.[2] It is, probably, the first of these two occasions to which Elwart alludes, when he says that Napoleon heard at the Conservatoire laudatory pieces on himself, by Lesueur, Méhul, and Cherubini, and that when the General made critical remarks on the latter's work, Cherubini replied, 'Général, lorsque vous faites un plan de bataille vous ne consultez que votre génie.' If there were two performances, the conflicting statements can easily be adjusted. The only difficulty is that Cherubini mentions composing no march in honour of Napoleon. This, however, is pretty clearly a mistake of Elwart.

On the eve of Napoleon's departure for Egypt in the beginning of the summer of 1798, he happened to be with Cherubini, and at once began bestowing high praises on the Italian composers, adding, as well,

[1] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 266, vol. vi. p. 464.
[2] Michaud's *Biog. Univ.* vol. i. p. 97.

some strange remarks on Cherubini's own works, whereupon the latter indignantly replied: 'Citizen-general, occupy yourself with battles and victories, and allow me to treat according to my own talent an art of which you know nothing.' Napoleon was at that time only a military chief, and turned away. A year and a half later, when he had become First Consul, such words would have been dangerous; yet Cherubini, as we shall see, had some collisions with Napoleon even when the republic and equality had passed away.

In 1798, he wrote the one-act opera of *L'Hôtellerie Portugaise* (the libretto by Aignan), which appeared at the Feydeau Theatre on the 25th of July. This little work is now only remembered for a trio, 'Que faire ô ciel,' and the gay overture which, though less elevated and artistic than the other great overtures of Cherubini, is yet a pleasing composition. One of the finest parts is the introduction, which is extremely quaint and mysterious—something too, perhaps, in the manner of Spohr. Yet any one acquainted with Cherubini would hardly mistake it. After a few grand chords, reminding us of some old ecclesiastical chant, this subject enters softly, given out in a low register by the first violins, and subsequently rising in the scale as one by one the instruments join in:



It is, doubtless, this portion to which Lafage alludes when he speaks of the counterpoint in the present overture founded upon *Les Folies d'Espagne*, whatever work that may be. 'It is impossible to imagine,' he says, 'anything where the artifices of science have been employed with more taste, grace, and felicity.' The allegro, on the other hand, is composed of a number of themes, the effect of which is a certain patchiness rarely seen in Cherubini's works. No one liked the very poor libretto, and in 1803 it was performed in Vienna with as little applause as it met with afterwards in Berlin.[3] The words were altogether unworthy of the music.

On the 23d of February 1799, Cherubini brought out another one-act opera, *La Punition* (the libretto by Desfaucherets), at the Feydeau Theatre, and wrote *La Prisonnière*, in conjunction with Boieldieu, which was performed on the 12th of September 1799, at the Montansier Theatre. This one-act comedy in prose by Jouy, Longchamps, and St. Just, with

[3] Arnold.

ariettas interspersed, had no success. Picchianti errs in saying that Boieldieu and Cherubini worked together both in *La Punition* and *La Prisonnière*. The first was the composition of Cherubini solely.

In 1799, Cherubini became one of the 'Jury de Lecture de l'Opéra,' and continued an effective member of the jury established in 1808 for the examination of works presented to the Grand Opera, as also a member, up to April 1824, of the 'Conseil littéraire et musicale,' remodelled in 1816, and reëstablished soon afterwards under the title of 'Jury for the Examination of Musical Works.'

On the 16th of January 1800 (8th Nivose, an 8), *Les Deux Journées*, known as the *Wasserträger* in Germany, Cherubini's masterpiece in opera, was represented for the first time at the Feydeau Theatre, before all the connoisseurs of Paris, with the following cast:

Armand, président à mortier du Parlement de Paris	Citoyen Gaveaux.
Constance, épouse d'Armand	Madame Scio.
Mikeli, Savoyard d'origine établi à Paris, porteur d'eau	Citoyen Juliet.
Daniel, son père vieillard infirme	Citoyen Platel.
Antonio, fils de Mikeli, garçon de ferme au village de Gonesse	Citoyen Jausserand.
Marcelina, fille de Mikeli et sœur d'Antonio	Mdlle. Rosette (gavaudan).
Sémos, riche fermier de Gonesse	Citoyen Prévost.
Angelina, fille unique de Sémos, accordée avec Antonio	Mdlle. Desmares.

Premier Commandant, } des Troupes Italiennes { Citoyen Dessaules.
Deuxième Commandant, } à la solde de Mazarin { Citoyen Georget.
Un Officier des Gardes, personnage muet . . —
Premier Soldat Italien . . . . . Citoyen Darcourt.
Deuxième Soldat Italien . . . . . Citoyen Garnier.
Une sentinelle. Habitans de Gonesse. Gardes et soldats.

La scène se passe à Paris pendant les deux premiers actes et pendant le troisième dans le village de Gonesse en l'année 1647.

As at *Lodoïska*, the audience rose and applauded every number. Two hundred representations did not satiate the enthusiasm of the Parisians. In Germany, and especially at Berlin and Frankfort, it was hailed with acclamation. Riehl calls this opera 'emotion dramatised.' The melody is charming, yet united with all the highest contrapuntal science, while the richness of the instrumentation may be compared to the colouring of a Paul Veronese. As Arnold says of it, 'It always creates fresh interest. . . Certainly it is perhaps one of the best of the class of semi-serious opera that ever was written. The subject is interesting, the treatment good, and the music incomparable.' Some of Cherubini's friends wished the author to dedicate the score to Haydn, but with characteristic modesty he replied, 'No, as yet I have written nothing worthy of such a master.' The work was dedicated to Gossec, and printed, we are told, 'at the express desire of Cherubini's friends.' The escapes of the persecuted Count Armand, who is befriended by the water-carrier, form the groundwork of the plot.

'Bouilly,' says Picchianti, 'was the author of the libretto, suggested by the generous action of a water-carrier towards a magistrate who was related to the author. The spirit of this dramatic conception perfectly suited the feeling and the tendencies of the public at that time, since, after witnessing so many acts of cruelty, they felt the need for returning to the pleasures of kindness and sensibility of heart. The libretto was so well devised, and so interesting, that Goethe considered it a true model in the style of comic opera. The musical composition, too, presented so many particular beauties, such great perfection, that from that time it took its rank as a classical work. And in Germany the work was received with such admiration that the most famous composers did not hesitate to study it, and Beethoven especially, who always used to keep it ready at hand on his table. The old systems of the time in which the dramas used to be composed almost exclusively of airs were beginning to be destroyed, whilst in this opera, with the exception of a duet and a canzonet, the whole was composed of concerted pieces and choruses, in a new style, full of vigour and charm. The ensemble of the harmony and the instrumentation is disposed and conducted in such a masterly manner, and with such a spontaneousness, force, and clearness, that it need not fear comparison with the compositions of the present day, when errors and

negligence often remain concealed under the noise of an orchestra that deafens the audience. Among the grandest musical conceptions is counted the magnificent finale of the first act, which possesses a truth of dramatic expression, and an entrancing variety of appropriate colour, which it seems impossible to surpass. The same may be said of the second act, especially for the rhythmical movements of the instruments, so happily suited to the situation in the drama, as for instance when the two officers pronounce the words, "Exécutez les ordres du célèbre Mazarin;" a kind of plain chant worked out in the form of a march, and supported by chords of a religious character, seems to recall the grave functions of the Cardinal minister. There is also something singularly mysterious and fascinating in the movements of the violas at the moment of the count's escape. Lastly, the chorus that is united with the brilliant march presents, on account of the originality of the invention, the conduct, and exquisite taste of the harmony, a true musical beauty. Almost the whole of the third act is composed of choruses, and is not inferior to the rest of the opera; the refrains that alternate with the recitatives seem beautifully worked out. When the sublime transition that is found on the words "céleste providence" was heard for the first time in the finale of the first

act, the enthusiasm of the public knew no bounds, and the acclamations resounded throughout the theatre. As soon as the curtain fell, the pupils of the Conservatoire, moved by the love and admiration which they felt for their master, scaled the orchestra and congratulated him with transports of joy. And Grétry himself, who had been wont to love no other music but his own, having put himself at the head of the chief composers who happened to be then in Paris (viz. Martini, D'Alayrac, Gossec, Lesueur, and Méhul), went with them, as soon as the opera was over, to congratulate Cherubini.' So much for Picchianti, and what says Denne-Baron? 'The finale of the second act of *Lodoïska* was a production without example on the French stage. That of *Les Deux Journées*, in which the composer elevates himself to the highest degree of dramatic expression, by ingenious combinations of the happiest song, sustained by all the brilliancy of the orchestra, remains one of the models of its class. You admire the marvellous art with which, in making use of the effects of instrumentation, he gives to each situation the tone and cast suited to it.' He then instances examples of this from the opera of *Elisa*, and I have already quoted his words apropos of that work. He proceeds to say: 'In the new system which Cherubini brought in, his melodies, grave and

severe in *Medea*, lively and piquant in the *Portuguese Inn*, naïve and touching in the *Deux Journées*, were always perfectly suited to the subject, and written within the compass of the human voice (?). In the orchestra he assigned a part to each instrument, as to a personage who has his own language and accent, at times establishing between them intelligent dialogues, or combining their different tones in harmonious groups, as far as to unite them in energetic masses. In short, everywhere, on the stage as in the orchestra, amplitude and power of development, and agreeably to the necessities of the drama, delicacy and elegance in the outlines, vigour in the ensemble, effect as a whole, and ever purity and elevation of style, nobility in the choice of ideas, and sagacious and judicious disposition of all the parts.'

Spohr, in his autobiography, says: 'I recollect when the *Deux Journées* was performed for the first time, how, intoxicated with delight and the powerful impression that the work had made on me, I asked on that very evening to have the score given to me, and sat over it the whole night, and that it was that opera chiefly that gave me the first impulse to composition.' Now hear Weber: *Les Deux Journées* was his favourite opera; and he writes from Munich, in a letter to a friend, dated June 30th, 1812: 'Fancy my delight when I beheld lying upon the

table of the hotel the playbill with the magic name *Armand.* I was the first person in the theatre, and planted myself in the middle of the pit, where I waited most anxiously for the tones which I knew beforehand would again elevate and inspire me. I think I may boldly assert that *Les Deux Journées* is a really dramatic and classical work. Everything is calculated so as to produce the greatest effect; all the various pieces are so much in their proper place, that you can neither omit one nor make any addition to them. The opera displays a pleasing richness of melody, vigorous declamation, and all-striking truth in the treatment of the situations, ever new, ever heard and retained with pleasure. Trumpets have been introduced in the overture, and I think they might produce a good effect in the allegro; but in the introductory adagio, the single blasts on the horn alone are indisputably better in the last all-powerful crescendo, more effective, and more appropriate to lead up to the grand climax, especially if the trumpets do not come in before the E major. A part of the duet between Armand and Constance was excellently given, but the commencement completely spoilt. I was most disagreeably surprised by an attempt to improve the composition in the finale. One of the most heavenly passages was, for reasons which to me are perfectly incomprehen-

sible, deprived of all its effect. After the quarrel of the water-carrier with Marcelline, whose opposition makes him angry, and when she bursts into tears, the *fortissimo* ought to be followed by a clarinet *quite alone*, which should play the melody till first the bassoon and then the violoncello take it up, while the brother, consoling and supplicating his sister, begins to sing. This invariably produces the greatest effect. Here not only did the oboe play it, but an accompaniment had been added! The very difficult choruses in the second act went admirably. They were sung and played with precision and fire. Indeed, the second act was more rounded and spirited than the first. In the third act I had again occasion to regret some beautiful passages which had been left out, especially the two or three words pronounced by the farmer's daughter, "Ah, Antonio does not return;" by the omission of which the musical passages clash with a total absence of plan. If I have chattered, my dear friend, so much about this opera, remember that we can never say enough of such masterpieces, and so ardent a lover of art as myself can count upon your indulgence.'[4]

[4] Mendelssohn, writing to his father describing a performance of *Les Deux Journées*, 'speaks of the enthusiasm of the audience as extreme, as well as of his own pleasure as surpassing anything he had ever experienced before in a theatre.' *Monthly Musical Record*, 1872. Writing to Devrient from Dusseldorf, February 5th, 1834, he says,

'So great,' remarks Gamucci, 'are the beauties which the genius and science of Cherubini have scattered over this score, that to enumerate them one after another, and pass them in review, you would want a whole volume.'[5]

Lastly, Schlüter says of the opera: 'The music is perfect, being equally distinguished for tenderness and expressiveness, and for noble simplicity and purity of form.'[6] Criticism seems almost disarmed in speaking of *Les Deux Journées*. No subsequent opera had such success in Paris. Henceforth Cherubini became more and more careless about making his music tally with the poem. No wonder; given wretched librettos, he could not but despise them; but a libretto has great power over the fate of an opera, often burying it in a half oblivion, or causing its total banishment from the stage.

Cherubini's operas have been accused of want of

'We are now rehearsing the *Wasserträger*, and every note calls to my mind Edouard Devrient; for it is just as if written expressly for you. Tell me why you have never sung it. Is it because he has a son who gets married? In that case, I quote Rokko. Or is the music out of fashion? Jesting apart, you should think over the part and adapt it, of course retranslating it for performance; get up the choruses and action, and take the credit of having done a good thing. The first three bars of the overture are worth more than your entire répertoire, *Prince Riguet* included in the bargain. Why, you must remain in the opera, if only for the sake of having a piece of fun such as this every once and a while, and of letting others share in it' (Devrient's *Recollections of Mendelssohn*, p. 171).

[5] Gamucci, p. 24. [6] *History of Music.*

melody, to which charge Fétis replies as follows: 'There is a copiousness of melody in Cherubini, especially in the *Deux Journées;* but such is the richness of the accompanying harmony, and the brilliant colouring of the instrumentation considering the period when the work appeared; such, above all, was the inability of the leaders of the public taste to appreciate at that time the combination of all these beauties, that the merit of the melody was not appreciated at its just value; this merit was lost sight of beneath all those things for which the French possessed no intelligence.' He continues: 'The same critics and the same biographers, who hardly know what they are talking about, assert that the author of *Elisa* and *Medea* wants originality, while originality is precisely one of the most remarkable qualities of the melodies that have been cited (viz. the duet in the *Epicure*, the grand scena in *Pimmalione*, the air "Suspendez à ce mur," in the *Abencérages*, that of *Anacréon*, "Jeunes filles," and the chorus "Dors, noble enfant," in *Blanche de Provence*); since, although full of charm, the forms are absolutely new.'

The writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, after saying that 'in nothing that Cherubini wrote do we come across aught that is not noble, far less upon aught that is low — the noblest feeling pervades his style'—adds, 'mere sensuous charm in his

melodies he despises. The melodies frequently flow on in astonishing simplicity, but are mostly sustained by artistic harmonies, in the combinations of which he equals the greatest composers. The musical ideas and *motivi*, moreover, are characterised by wonderful sharpness; nothing is vague or obscure; everything is clear, distinct, and firmly drawn.'

Fétis adds to what I have already quoted from him above: 'There is a fault which can be remarked upon in Cherubini's dramatic works with more justice, and which has, more than any other thing, stood in the way of their success: I mean a certain absence of scenic instinct, which makes itself conspicuous in the most beautiful works of his genius. Almost always the first inspiration is happy; but Cherubini, too much prone to develop his idea by the merit of an admirable workmanship, forgets the requirements of the action; the scene extends under his hand; music alone preoccupies the musician, and the situations become tedious. If you examine with care all the full scores of Cherubini, you will see that all, more or less, reproduce this fault.'
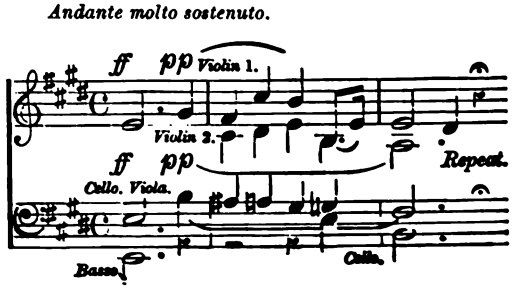
To many it may seem that poor librettos are the real cause of any defects in Cherubini's operas. Thus the *Medea*, with a bad book, is at times dry and heavy, while the *Deux Journées*, with a poem of which Goethe and Mendelssohn approved, is faultless. Miel,

in speaking of the strange fact that nearly all the operas of Cherubini have disappeared from the stage, admits the bad librettos, but adds: 'The true cause of this abandonment was a mediocre execution, which ill suited compositions so full and crowded.' He concludes with what all will agree to: 'For connoisseurs attached to their studies, all these scores (of Cherubini) are objects of a sustained, or rather increasing admiration.' The difficulty, however, of performing any work nowadays is little or nothing. All the appliances of the orchestra have been wrought to perfection, and the human voice can be trained to attack anything. There is reason to believe that Cherubini's operas will make their way. At any rate, if they do not, it will be the fault neither of orchestra nor of singer.

The following criticism on the overture to *Les Deux Journées*, signed 'F. W. H.,' appeared in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine:* 'In the first movement there are some peculiarly felicitous passages, such as the first six bars; at the seventh bar, where the basses take a solo passage leading down to C natural; and the passage marked *crescendo poco a poco*, leading into the allegro. There are some uncommon modulations, brought about with simplicity, from A minor to G with one sharp; at the twenty-sixth bar of this movement from B to D (by the seventh

upon A); and towards the end, where the octave passage occurs, beginning upon B. He has managed the conclusion very ably, by accelerating the time (marked *piu stretto*) upon that passage, which was heard in the first instance in allegro—a mode of producing effect in which I perceive he has been imitated by other composers. There is a great portion of musical colouring observed throughout *Les Deux Journées*, to which the natural brilliance of the key in which it is set (E sharp) in no slight degree contributes.'

Professor Ella has lately said of the overture, 'It is thoroughly independent of any *motivi* in the opera, and is one of his best and most original. To my mind, there is no more striking effect of powerful imagination, suggestive of the darkest imagery of tragic incidents, than the whole of the introduction. After the opening, slow lovely cadences of serene
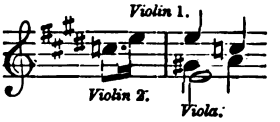


placid harmony, come the double basses, in a grand
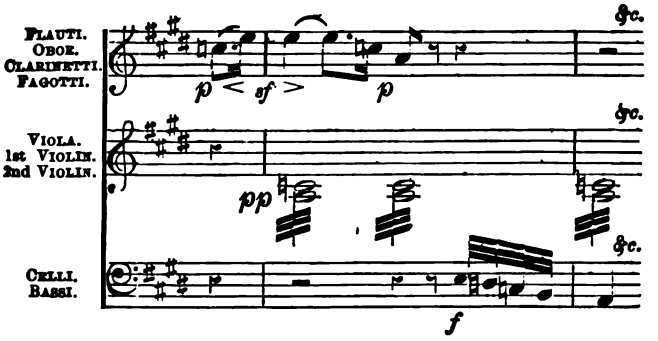
figure of a vague character, reposing on a deep pedal
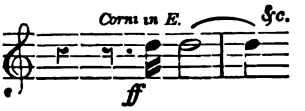


note. How touching are the bewailing short melodic phrases, so tenderly expressed, with the penetrating chord of the augmented fifth in its simple structure!



The mysterious tremolo of the violins, the wailing effect of the flutes, the tragic responses of the basses,
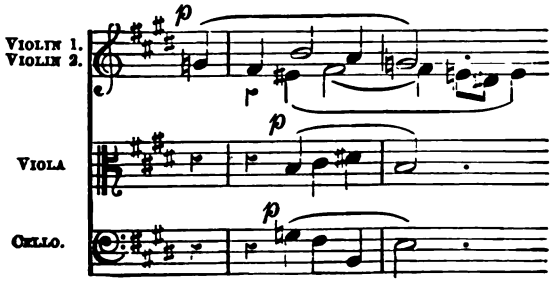


and the terrific utterance of the horns on the fifth of



the dominant, until the grand climax of the allegro,

are in the highest degree suggestive, and have served Weber and Mendelssohn to good purpose. I have dwelt upon these details because they form in combination one of the most powerfully-grand creations of a poetical mind. The rest of the overture, of a highly imaginative description, symmetrical, varied in effects, with subjects in bold contrast, is not easy, and demands a vigorous execution. As the chief incidents of the drama are neither tragic nor very impassioned, but rather of a sentimental, pastoral character, I am inclined to think that this grand heroic inspiration was not, as is usually the case, suggested by the libretto of the drama.'[7]

There is one part of the introduction which I may here venture to notice. I allude to the mournful passage which occurs three times before the beginning of that climax announced to us by the tremolo of the violins and violas:



[7] Lecture on *Les Deux Journées* at the London Institution.

And in the allegro what a contrast to the opening in its burst of triumph, what a rhythm and melody!

'The overtures of *Lodoïska*, *Les Deux Journées*, *Faniska*, and *Medea*, to which we must add Méhul's *Chasse du Jeune Henri*, are models of our modern instrumental music, so picturesque, so poetic, so full of warmth and effect.' So speaks Oulibischeff; and Mr. G. A. Macfarren observes that the overture to *Les Deux Journées* alone, 'by the power of its ideas, their admirable development, the peculiarity of its form, and the vigour of its orchestration, gives Cherubini a foremost rank among musicians in the estimation of all who set the highest value on the greatest order of artistic productions.'[8]

The performance of *Les Deux Journées*, which took place at Drury Lane in 1872, for the first time in England, contrasts favourably enough with the version of it (?) given many years ago under the title of the *Escapes*. The dialogue was set to recitative by Sir Michael Costa, who led the performance with a spirit and fire that left nothing to be desired. It is
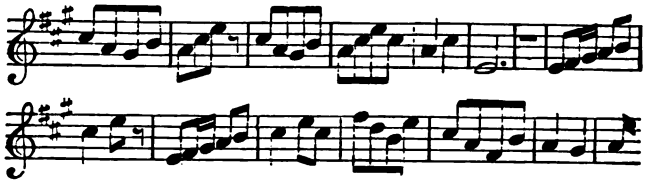
[8] *Imperial Biography*, vol. i. p. 1012. Towards the close of his notice, Mr. Macfarren, to whose opinion weight must necessarily attach, expresses himself less favourably with regard to Cherubini's overtures. He says, 'Notwithstanding the great merit of his overtures, this appears to have been the result of momentary inspiration rather than of mastery in that style of writing; for he was manifestly deficient in the principles of construction, and instrumental music was therefore a department in which he was unqualified for success' (p. 1013).

deeply to be regretted that the work was only once performed, for one hearing is not sufficient for that full appreciation of any classical work which familiarity alone can bring. It was not enough for Mozart's operas, nor for Weber's *Der Freischutz*, nor for Beethoven's *Fidelio*, nor for Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, nor is it enough for Cherubini's operas. The cast was as follows: Armand, Sig. Vizzani; Michael, Sig. Agnesi; Daniel, Sig. Zoboli; Antony, Sig. Rinaldini; Samos; 1st officer, Sig. Foli; 2d officer, Sig. Casaboni; 1st soldier, Sig. Sinigaglia; 2d soldier, Sig. Balesca; Constance, Mdlle. Tietjens; Marcelline, Mdlle. Marie Roze; Angeline, Mdlle. Bauermeister; a peasant, Mdlle. Rita. The Italian translation was by Signor Zaffia.
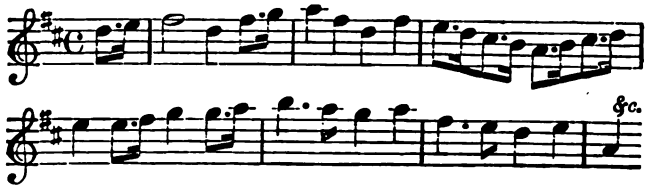
On the 14th of October 1801 the *Escapes* was performed as a 'Musical Entertainment,' the cast comprising the Misses Dixon, Howells, and Wheatley, as Constantia, Angelina, and Marcellina respectively, with Mr. Fawcett as Michello, Mr. Incledon as Armand, Mr. Townsend as Antonio, and Mr. Simmons as Daniel.[9] It has been said that not a note of Cherubini's music was brought in. On an inspection, however, of the score, which claims to be that of the piece 'as now performing with the greatest applause at Covent Garden, composed by Thomas Att-

[9] *Athenæum*, 1872.

wood,' I come at last upon the theme of Cherubini's beautiful chorus, 'Jeunes filles et bergerettes' (in the 3d act of *Les Deux Journées*), which is set to words



beginning, 'Flowers around strewing, hair loosely flowing,' and followed by the march, with words,



'Towards the green I see thee marching,' sung by Samos. The terzetto, 'O mon libérateur,' succeeds. Cherubini's music, however, is everywhere altered and mangled.

Much has been said of late about the plot of *Les Deux Journées* and its excessive simplicity. Clément thinks it too complicated: 'The scene takes place in Cardinal Mazarin's time, and the little Savoyard is the hero of it. The author of the libretto has so multiplied the incidents that the interest is divided, and cannot be centered on any one character of the piece. There is neither unity of time, nor of place, nor of action. The beautiful music of the

Florentine master could not save such a poem. Meanwhile fine fragments of the opera have been preserved. We will cite the air of the little Savoyard, the couplets of Mikély: "A leurs yeux je dérobe madame," a fine soldiers' chorus on these absurd words,

> "Meritons la bienveillance
> Du célèbre Mazarin;
> *Surveillons* et servons bien
> Son éminence."

It will be agreed that Cherubini might have employed better his admirable talent."[10] As to the simplicity of the plot, the *Athenæum* remarks: 'The tale is not more simple than that of *Fidelio*. In the two books the persecution and adventures of a married couple form the mainspring of interest; the escapes of the French count and countess are as exciting as those of Leonora and Florestan—in both the devotion of a wife is vividly exemplified.' I now venture to call attention to Mendelssohn's correspondence in reference to a libretto for himself, to be written by Mr. Planché. Every one knows how fastidious that composer was about a libretto. Speaking to Mr. Planché on the subject, he says: 'As you ask me to name a model, I should say a subject between *Fidelio* and *Les Deux Journées* of Cherubini would suit me most—more like the first with regard to the internal plot—to the development of passion;

[10] *Dictionnaire Lyrique.*

and like the second in the historical basis—the activity of the choruses and the serene atmosphere which breathes throughout the whole, notwithstanding all the perils and the narrow escapes which occur in it. In short, could you find me a subject in which some virtuous heroical deed was celebrated, which represented the triumph of some noble striving feeling equally known to every one of the hearers, who knows at all any feeling, and who could then see his own internal life on the stage, but more concentrated—in short, translated into poetry; and if that same story happened in a country, or time, and a people which could give a lively background to the whole (be it dark or not), which, in reminding us of history, could in the same time *remind us of our present time* (as, for instance, the dark figure of Cardinal Mazarin forms a background in the *Deux Journées;* but it could be more prominent still), and if every act of the opera had its own effects, its own poetical point which comes to issue in the finale (as also in *Les Deux Journées*, at least in the first and second acts)—if you could find such a subject, that would be the one I wish for; and if ever I can succeed, I should be sure to do it with such a subject.'[11]

'As to the *Deux Journées*,' says Miel, 'the words and the music are in perfect accord.' In fact, the

[11] J. R. Planché's *Recollections and Reflections*, vol. ii.

real grievance last year against Cherubini's libretto was that it was not sensational enough. There was, also, a further grievance against the opera. To use the words of the *Athenæum*, 'Cherubini has evidently created the new Wagnerian theories of operatic treatment. In the *Deux Journées* there is no *aria d'entrata* for prima donna, tenor, baritone, or bass; there are no solos interrupting the action of the drama; every character is individualised, and has a marked type,—each one contributing to the concerted pieces faithfully, consistently, and coherently.' . . . . Herr Wagner's proposed annihilation of the tyranny of leading singers in operas is to be found in *Les Deux Journées*.' Cherubini disdains to write for a mere display of the voice; hence the discontent of a section of the public, unwilling to be deprived of their shakes and roulades. A new classical work does not 'draw' at the Italian Opera. 'If such be the case,' says the same journal from which I have been quoting, 'it only shows how pressing is the need of a National Opera-House, where at moderate prices grand and classical opera can be rendered a paying investment.' And again, 'The production of new works, which shall be successful both financially and artistically, can now only be expected from a National Opera-House.' It should be added that from the work being advertised as a comic opera

many persons expected something like *Il Barbiere*, whereas in *Les Deux Journées* there is nothing comic. In calling it a comic opera it is only meant that the story ends happily.

Descriptions of *Les Deux Journées* have appeared from Castil-Blaze, Arnold, and Emilio Cianchi; that of the latter being, according to Gamucci, a well-worked-out analysis, which was read at the annual public assembly of the 'Corpo Accademico del Regio Instituto musicale' of Florence, in the hall of the 'Buon Umore,' on the 17th of May 1863, and subsequently printed in the minutes of the Academy.

CHAPTER VII.

1800–1805.

The pasticcio *Epicure*, by Méhul and Cherubini—Visit to Chartres—Napoleon again—Establishment of a Consular chapel—Paisiello made chapel-master—*Anacréon*—The overture—The ballet of *Achille à Scyros*—Cherubini visits Vienna with his wife and youngest daughter—Sees Haydn—Brings out *Lodoïska* and *Les Deux Journées*—Napoleon makes his entry into Vienna, and Cherubini conducts concerts for him there and at Schönbrunn—Commercial speculation of Steibelt and Cherubini—Napoleon leaves for Paris.

WHILE Cherubini was effecting his operatic reforms at the Feydeau Theatre by his *Lodoïska*, *Elisa*, *Medée*, and *Les Deux Journées* he was being ably seconded at the Favart Theatre (the company of which, about 1802, merged into that of the Feydeau) by Méhul, who produced there his *Mélidor*, and elsewhere his *Euphrosine* and *Stratonice*. Shortly after the appearance of *Les Deux Journées* the two rival composers wrote a work together. This was the three-act pasticcio of *Epicure*, words by Demoustier, given at the Favart Theatre on the 14th of March 1800, and now chiefly remembered for an exquisitely beautiful duet of Cherubini, entitled 'Ah, mon ami, de notre asile,' and the overture, which, according to Picchi-

anti, 'came to be considered in Germany as one of Cherubini's classical works, and which was imbued with such extravagance that it is said to have influenced the characteristics of the style of Beethoven, who did not cease to study the compositions of our Italian, whom he justly held in great esteem.'[1] *Epicure*, with a cold libretto, was not a success, being performed only three times, and it caused a quarrel between its composers, each attributing to the other the failure of the work. They were reconciled a little later through the good offices of Plantade.[2]

In this year, 1800, Cherubini visited Chartres by invitation, and there wrote a march 'du préfet d'Eure-et-Loir.' On returning to Paris, he wrote a second march, 'pour le retour du préfet après sa tournée dans le département.'

On the 12th of December 1800, a grand performance of the *Creation* took place in Paris. Napoleon, while on his way to attend it, was near being killed by the explosion of the infernal machine. It was after this crisis that a deputation, composed of the various societies and corporations at Paris, waited on the First Consul to offer their congratulations on his escape. Cherubini, as a representative of the Conservatoire, was among the deputation, but kept in the background, wishing to avoid any unpleasant

[1] Picchianti, p. 36. [2] Lafage.

meeting with Napoleon; who, however, ironically exclaimed: 'I do not see Monsieur Chérubin,' pronouncing the name in this French way, in order to indicate, it is said, that Cherubini was not worthy of being deemed an Italian composer. When the composer came forward, neither said one word. Yet crowds were still rushing nightly to see and hear *Les Deux Journées.* Shortly after the above incident, Napoleon invited him to a banquet at the Tuileries, given to a number of the distinguished men at Paris. After a frugal repast the company adjourned to the salon, where the First Consul entered into conversation with Cherubini, both of them walking up and down the room. 'Well,' said Napoleon, 'the French are in Italy.' 'Where would they not go,' rejoined Cherubini, 'led by such a hero as you.' Napoleon seemed pleased, but talked now in Italian now in French, which so confused Cherubini that he could scarcely make out what the Consul was saying. At length the latter began on the old topic: 'I tell you,' he said, 'I like Paisiello's music immensely; it is soft and tranquil. You have much talent, but there is too much accompaniment,' and he instanced the celebrated air of Zingarelli, 'Ombra adorata,' as being the sort of thing he liked. Cherubini quietly rejoined: 'Citizen Consul, I conform myself to French taste; "paese che vai usanza che trovi," says the

Italian proverb.' 'Your music,' continued Napoleon, 'makes too much noise; speak to me in that of Paisiello, that is what lulls me gently.' 'I understand,' replied Cherubini; 'you like music which does not stop you from thinking of state affairs.' At this witty answer Napoleon frowned, and the talk ended.[3]

Cherubini now found himself persistently ignored and ill-treated by the First Consul, and though producing masterpieces worth a fortune to the musical world, yet he received no honours as a composer, and hardly any income save the pay received as inspector of the Conservatoire, which scarcely sufficed for his maintenance. How significant of his downcast state of mind is the catalogue of his works at this period! Hardly anything was written during 1801 and 1802; and as a distraction Cherubini occupied himself with his botanical pursuits.

When the concordat with the Pope had been signed, Napoleon, who loved to return to the old ways of the monarchy, determined to reëstablish a consular chapel; and, at the close of 1802, invited Paisiello, then at Naples, to come to Paris, and be director of the music. Paisiello came, and received 12,000 francs a year, besides lodging and a carriage.

[3] Arnold somewhat amusingly says that to Napoleon's charge of 'too many notes,' Cherubini gave 'the ever-memorable reply:' 'Not one too many.'

The number of singers for the chapel was eight, besides twenty-seven instrumentalists under Paisiello. As the old Tuileries chapel had been destroyed, the services took place in the Hall of the Council of State. All this gave great umbrage to the Conservatoire. That institution, with its famous teachers, supported French taste, and Napoleon passed them all over for an Italian stranger. They resented being placed beneath a foreigner. At the same time, as Cherubini stood foremost among them, they disliked him as well as Paisiello. Cherubini, indeed, might now be considered one of themselves, but was he not an Italian born, and yet thought the first representative of the new French music? The intrigues and petty jealousies of the French musicians deprive them of the just excuse that might be made for them, in their indignation at Paisiello's preferment. Paisiello, however, pleased none but the First Consul. The public, stimulated by beauties of a higher order, listened with indifference to his opera of *Proserpine*, his masses, his psalms, and his hymns. Nor did Paisiello like his position; accustomed at Naples to be courted by artists, and admired by the public, he found Paris a decided change for the worse. After the grand solemnity of the coronation of the French Emperor, he asked to be released from his engagement with Napo-

leon, pleading as his excuse the ill-health of his wife. With difficulty he obtained his request, and returned to Naples towards the end of 1804. Napoleon tried to get Zingarelli in his stead, but Zingarelli refused all offers, wisely preferring his post at the Vatican. Such was the petty contention that made Cherubini, disgusted with that divine art of which he was so consummate a master, seek a distraction in the cultivation of flowers. However, in 1803, his *Anacréon, ou l'Amour fugitif*, a ponderous, original, but unequal work in two acts, with a poor libretto by Mendouze, was performed at the Grand Opera, on the 4th of October, with the following cast:

Anacréon	M. Lays.
L'Amour	Mdlle. Hymm.
Corinne	Madame Branchu.
Première Esclave	Mdlle. Cholet.
Deuxième Esclave	Mdlle Pelet.
Vénus	Madame Jannard.
Bathille	M. Eloy.
Glycère	Mdlle. Lacombe.
Athanais (personnage chantant et dansant)	Madame Gardei.

Esclaves mâles (personnages muets), troupe de chanteurs et joueurs d'instrumens des deux sexes.

The libretto was a tiresome one, though much merriment was caused by some scenes, especially where Anacréon, asking his favourite attendant whether he will take anything to drink, addressed

him as 'Esclave intéressant.' We are told that the shouts of laughter stopped the actors for five minutes, from proceeding. Lays, crowned with ivy, vine-branches, and flowers, was delighted with his rôle of poet and musician. *Anacréon* for a time kept the stage, and, out of respect for the composer, a magnificent edition of the work was printed, and eagerly bought up by connoisseurs. Cherubini, in a private letter, attributed the failure of the work 'à la clique infernale acharnée contre tous ceux qui font partie du Conservatoire.' *Anacréon* was not much known in Vienna; the libretto was disliked, and with reason. The choruses were thought the best part, but people said that the music was generally heavy. It was performed once only in the Austrian capital. To those, however, who criticised *Anacréon*, Cherubini replied: 'Either I write everything as I choose, or not at all.' And he did write, regardless of Parisian trivialities.[4]

Among many scenes of great splendour must be noticed Corinne's air, 'Jeunes filles aux regards doux;' the harmonious quartet, 'Des nos cœurs purs;' the brilliant, picturesque trio, 'Dans ma verte et belle jeunesse;' the Bacchanalian chorus, 'Honneur au Dieu de la vendange,' the chorus 'Père d'Orphée;' and the storm scene at the end of the

[4] Arnold.

first act, of which Castil-Blaze says: 'L'orage d'*Anacréon* a pris rang parmi les tempêtes les plus renommées qu'on fait tonner sur nos théâtres depuis l'*Alcione* de Marais (1706), jusqu'à *Guillaume Tell* (1829).' Then there is the well-known overture, equalled only by those to *Medea* and the *Deux Journées*, and which on its first appearance in this country was played three times in succession. A double encore is a rare triumph indeed. The Philharmonic Society began their first concert in 1815 with the overture, which, however, as Mr. G. A. Macfarren observes, has been far from justly admired more than any other of Cherubini's works.[5]

F. W. H., in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine*, writes: 'In the overture to *Anacréon* (certainly one of the finest instrumental pieces that have been written since the days of Haydn), there are perhaps fewer attempts at continual imitation, fewer passages in the fugue style, and fewer laborious or abstruse modulations than may be found in the symphonies and overtures of Cherubini's admired predecessors; but to compensate for the absence of these, there is a novelty of melody, an elegance and brilliancy of effect

[5] A grumbler in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1862, alluding to some performances by the Société des Concerts, observes that the overture scarcely merits, as a symphonic piece, the reputation it has so long enjoyed. The developments of the principal subject are excessive, and the theme itself, not a marked one (peu saillant), recurs too often. *Musical Standard*, vol. i. p. 59.

prevailing throughout this piece which cannot fail to rivet the attention of all who possess the least taste in our art. The first horns, by sustaining A and E, then moving to the chord of D, prepare the way for a very singular and effective passage, which is taken up alternately by the flute, violin, and violoncello, between each preparatory sounding of the corni, until the movement ends with the dominant seventh in full harmony by the whole band. Nothing (to look at the score) can possibly be more simple, and certainly nothing can be more effective; it is the harbinger of good things to the allegro movement that follows, commencing on one note only by the bass. At the end of two bars there arises a very simple passage, which may be called the subject of the overture, as it is heard throughout until nearly the close, alternating from one instrument to another in a very extraordinary manner. The long continuation of the *piano*, and the gradual accumulation of the crescendo, are strikingly displayed in the first fifty bars; and when the climax arrives, by the full burst of the orchestra, no doubt can possibly remain on the mind of the scientific hearer that our author is a man of superior abilities. I would point out to the student a beautiful passage towards the end marked in Bruguier's adapted duet *Lentando*, as a delightful contrast to the brilliant ones that precede

and follow it. The educated musician would discover a great similarity to Mozart's style in this part: it is tender, graceful, and in the true chiaroscuro of harmony, a passage bearing strong indication of the elegant mind of its author.'

Unfortunate with *Anacréon*, Cherubini was still more unlucky with the ballet of *Achille à Scyros* (words by Gardel the younger), three-fourths of the music of which was his, and which was performed at the Grand Opera on the 18th December 1804. Here, as with *Anacréon*, the music was wonderful, especially a Bacchanalian scene (imitated in 1817 by Spontini, in a piece inserted in Salieri's *Les Danaïdes*); but the nature of the subject, with Achilles, according to the well-known legend, dressed up in woman's clothes, was unsuitable for representation. Duport might succeed in his acting of the rôle of Achilles, but the French feeling in the matter was well expressed by Fétis: 'Achille est une grande figure antique qui n'est pas tolérable dans une situation grotesque.' The twentieth performance of the work took place on the 15th September 1807, with Mdlle. Clotilde as Achilles.

When Paisiello left Paris in 1804, the post of chapel-master to Napoleon became vacant. Napoleon offered Méhul the place, who, although the rival, was yet the friend of Cherubini, and who proposed

to share the office with the latter. But Napoleon would not hear of the proposal. 'Do not speak to me,' said he, 'about that man. I want a maëstro who will make music, not noise.' In asking for his friend, Méhul lost the place himself.[6] Napoleon told Paisiello to name his successor, who fixed on Lesueur, who accordingly became chapel-master.

In 1804, Cherubini began *Les Arrêts*, but never went on with it, chiefly because he left the French capital the following year. Miel, noticing the circumstance of *Les Arrêts* not being completed, says: 'A resolution astonishing on the part of a man who left nothing unachieved or unfinished.'[7] M. Miel

[6] The *Musical Standard*, on what authority I know not, has lately given the following account of Méhul's conversation with Napoleon on this subject (vol. iii. no. 416): 'I can only accept the place on condition that you will allow me to share it with my friend Cherubini,' says Méhul. 'Don't mention him,' says Napoleon; 'he is a man of snappish disposition, and I have an utter aversion to him.' 'It is certainly his misfortune,' replies Méhul, 'to have failed in securing your good opinion; but in point of sacred music he is superior to us all; he is straitened in his circumstances, has a numerous family, and I should feel happy in reconciling you to him.' 'I repeat,' says the emperor, 'I will not have him.' 'Well then,' answers Méhul, 'I must positively decline; nothing can alter my determination. I belong to the Institute; he does not. I will not allow it to be said that I take advantage of the kindness you show me in order to secure every place for myself, and deprive a celebrated man of what he is so justly entitled to claim at your hands.' Castil-Blaze assures us (*Chapelle-Musique des Rois de France*, p. 170) that Méhul's refusal of the office because he esteemed himself less worthy of it than Cherubini is an invention of the biographers.

[7] Miel's *Notice sur Cherubini*, p. 12.

had forgotten *Marguerite d'Anjou*, the other fragmentary opera of 1802, the name of which Cherubini does not give us; the *Kourkourgi* opera, the fragments of cantatas in 1796, for the inauguration of a statue of Apollo, and in 1811, for the opening of a new concert hall at the Conservatoire; and the unfinished opera *Selico*. In 1805, Cherubini, to calm his mind and dissipate his cares, undertook a labour of love in getting up a performance of Mozart's Requiem, which the Parisians had never yet heard. 'Despite the disinclination of the Parisians for German music,' said German journals of the time, 'and despite the repugnance of Parisian artistes to such a difficult task, Cherubini's zeal and love for this work of Mozart enabled him to get it performed by two hundred of the best singers and instrumentalists; and performed too, in such a manner, that on the very same day he received a request to repeat it.[8] The work, in fact, made a deep sensation; and it is interesting to know that he who led the first performance of it in Paris, was destined himself to write two Requiems, which, in the opinion of a great many, cannot be deemed inferior to that of Mozart. Cherubini also brought out some of Haydn's works.

It may be imagined that, after all his recent failures, Cherubini was not in high spirits. To cheer

[8] Gerber's *Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, vol. i. p. 698.

him, however, there came to him in 1805 an invitation to compose for the managers of the opera at Vienna; and, as the terms were liberal, he left Paris on the 26th June, accompanied by his wife and youngest daughter, and arrived at the Austrian capital in July. His advent produced a profound sensation. The outpost of classical music, after guarding its interest in uncongenial Paris, had come at last to the city which was in many respects for him a truer home; and Arnold naïvely remarks that the chief Parisian musicians were glad to see Cherubini go to Vienna.

Cherubini first of all visited Haydn, then about seventy-three years old. Gamucci says that Cherubini presented Haydn with the medal, struck at Paris for the latter, by the impresario of the Opera Theatre, as a token of admiration for the *Creation;* but the medal in question was presented two or three years previously, in 1801; and a mistake to the effect that Cherubini had himself given it in person to Haydn in 1801 was refuted by the circumstance that he did not go to Vienna till 1805. Subsequently, Cherubini entered into a warm friendship with Beethoven and Hummel. The cordial reception given him, and the esteem of the great German artists in the city, greatly encouraged him.

Among the first works represented at Vienna

under Cherubini's direction were *Les Deux Journées* and *Lodoïska.* Fétis says that *Lodoïska* was performed, others say *Les Deux Journées;* Arnold, the German, says both. Two new entr'actes were written for *Lodoïska,* as well as a new air, expressly for Madame Campi. Arnold states that a quartet, with chorus, was also added to *Les Deux Journées* in the second act, where the pretended daughter of the water-carrier is in the water-cart. But Constance never does get into the cart.

When the *Deux Journées* was given the Viennese, as might have been anticipated, became enthusiastic. As conductor, Cherubini made some changes in the tempi. Thus, he took the allegro of the stupendous overture slower than was usual, whereby 'this difficult piece of music gained in clearness.' Cherubini made the acquaintance of a Baron de Braun, for whom he wrote a march for wind instruments, as well as a sonata for an organ 'à cylindre.' In the mean time, owing to the victory of Elchingen, and the capitulation of Ulm, the war, which had broken out since Cherubini's arrival, resulted in Murat entering the Austrian capital, and in the French Emperor taking up his residence at Schönbrunn. But when dictating in Vienna the terms of the peace of Presburg, Napoleon, on hearing of Cherubini's presence in the city, expressed a wish to see him. When the com-

poser came, the Emperor asked him what cause had brought him to Vienna, and whether he had obtained the necessary permission to leave France. Having satisfied himself on this point, the Emperor, while not forgetting his usual praises of Paisiello and Zingarelli, said in a kindly tone, 'Ah, Monsieur Cherubini, I am glad you are here, and since you are here, we'll have some music together. You shall direct my concerts.' Thus charged with the direction of the court-music during Napoleon's stay in Austria, Cherubini gave twelve musical soirées alternately at Vienna and Schönbrunn, he presiding at the piano and Crescentini singing; and each time occasions were opportunely afforded for lively discussions on music between Napoleon and Cherubini. First of all, Napoleon became angry because, as he thought, there was too much noise in the orchestra. The patient Cherubini, to remedy this, contrived that all passages should be executed *pianissimo*, which proceeding quite satisfied Napoleon. The latter even showed an interest in Cherubini's future movements, saying to him one day, 'I very much hope that you are here only for a holiday, and that you will return to Paris.' At another time when Napoleon spoke about *Faniska*, the representation of which had been postponed on account of the troubles of the time, Cherubini at once took the position of assailant by saying

'This opera will not please you.' 'And why not?' exclaimed Napoleon. 'Because,' said Cherubini (using the same expression employed by Napoleon in their passage of arms at the Tuileries in 1800), 'because it has too much accompaniment.' The charge of 'too many notes' was preferred against Cherubini both by the Emperor Joseph II. and by Napoleon.[9] Alluding to this Gerber says: 'When such could be the opinion of two of the most accomplished dilettanti (?) in Vienna and Paris, what can be the opinion of others in places where art is immeasurably less flourishing and practised? Unfortunately, I fear that, with all the extraordinary progress of instrumental compositions, this would at present be the unanimous opinion of the majority of connoisseurs on hearing such music, supposing them capable of saying what they thought with the freedom of a Joseph II. or a Bonaparte. For how is it, how can it be, possible for them, unprepared, to follow the artist in the expression of his multifarious ideas entwined into a whole? Who will choose, and who will be ready to thank him for the great but unappreciated art he has employed?' All this only shows how much Cherubini was in advance of his time.

[9] Vide Gerber, under 'Cherubini' in the (later?) *Lexicon der Tonkünstler. Musical World*, 1862. The Emperor Joseph died in 1790, so that he could not have heard very much of Cherubini's music.

For the twelve soirées Cherubini received a large sum from Napoleon. On the other hand Cherubini was involved with Steibelt in a commercial speculation, which proved a failure. They opened a new music-printing establishment at Vienna, but owing to want of sufficient capital, soon found themselves embarrassed; and Cherubini, like a man of honour, sold his inheritance to pay to the last farthing his share of the debts.[10]

On the signing of the treaty of Presburg, December 26, 1805, Napoleon prepared for his return to Paris. At the moment of his departure he called for Cherubini, and, while pronouncing his name in the Italian and not in the French fashion, invited him to accompany him to Paris. But Cherubini would not break his word with the Viennese, who expected at least one work from him, and he excused himself as well as he could. On Napoleon's return to Paris, Paër became court-musician, a post which would probably have been given to Cherubini, had he returned with the Emperor, who seemed at this time favourably disposed towards our composer. No doubt he wanted to lead Cherubini to ask a favour of him, but as both were proud men, neither would Napoleon take the initiative, by offering, nor Cherubini, by asking. 'It may easily be perceived,' observes

[10] Picchianti, p. 64.

Picchianti, 'that Napoleon did not bear any hatred towards Cherubini, but rather to that new kind of music introduced by the latter into France; had he been averse to him personally, there were but too many ways of getting rid of him, as of other persons whom he disliked. The pretended reasons as to the excessive noise of the instruments do not seem sufficient for depreciating Cherubini's beautiful compositions, since it cannot be supposed that the acoustic nerves of the hero of battles were so delicate as to be unable to bear the *fortes* of the orchestra, which Cherubini used to employ in a masterly way, and which were much softer and more moderate than those now in vogue in Italy. Brought up in the midst of arms, Napoleon's hearing must have become well accustomed to endure the greater noise of the beating of drums, the booming of artillery, and the sharp cries of the wounded. It is rather to be believed that in Cherubini's music, whose style was formed and developed in the first days of the revolution, Napoleon discovered the impress of an exalted spirit, and a certain republican austerity, which he did not at all relish, and would have been glad even to eradicate. And judging from his own feelings, which would probably be those of the public, there perhaps arose in him some fear lest such music should produce results such as clashed with his chief objects, which were

CHAPTER VIII.

1805–1808.

Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Cherubini's *Faniska*—Cherubini's relations with Beethoven and Hummel—His parting with Haydn—Returns to Paris — Spontini's *La Vestale* — Méhul's *Joseph* — Cherubini's canons—He becomes ill, and goes for his health to the Castle of Chimay, in Belgium.

On the 20th of December 1805 appeared Beethoven's *Fidelio;* and little more than two months later Cherubini's *Faniska*, with German text by Tonnleithner, was produced for the first time at the Imperial Kärnthnerthor Theatre, on the 25th of February 1806, before the Emperor Francis II. and all his court. Both at the beginning and end of the opera Cherubini was received with acclamations. By this work his credit was immensely increased, and all the famous artistes at Vienna vied with one another in fêting him. 'The magnificent music,' says the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'excited the admiration of all competent judges; Beethoven and, it is asserted, Haydn perfectly agreeing with the opinion of the public.' An-

other account speaks of the 'depth, force, and rare perfection in the details—many of those surprises that move you forcibly'—in *Faniska.* It would seem doubtful whether Haydn, at his advanced age, still visited the theatre; but, according to the general account, both he and Beethoven were present at the first performance; Cherubini, on his part, going to hear *Fidelio* twice. Haydn embraced Cherubini afterwards, saying, 'I am very old, but I am your son.' Poor Haydn has been made to utter a considerable variety of remarks, many of which he probably never made. Miel has been followed in the present instance; but some accounts speak of Haydn saying, 'You are my son, worthy of my love.' Here, to say the least of it, he would be paying a compliment to himself, as well as conferring one. There is also, owing to various versions, a little doubt as to what Beethoven and Haydn actually styled Cherubini. Lafage says that the expression made use of was 'the first musician of the century;' according to others Haydn called him 'the greatest of living musicians;' and Beethoven, 'the greatest dramatic composer of the age;' while the German journals and Beethoven together undoubtedly called Cherubini 'the first dramatic composer of his time.' As for the critics, they are credited with praising him as 'the most learned of dramatic composers.' Whatever were the

exact words, and they may all of them be correct, there is no doubt about the general opinion meant to be conveyed. The French composers concurred in the praise of Cherubini at Vienna; but Fétis says, 'Méhul, who up to this time had been considered his rival and competitor, subscribed to these praises; but any one who was acquainted with him knows how much such an avowal cost him; he only made it out of an ostentatiousness of generosity, and in order to hide his despair.'[1] Glück and Mozart were dead; Weber was yet in obscurity. There was no one to compare with Cherubini, unless it were Beethoven himself. 'It is a very remarkable fact,' says the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'that two such important dramatic compositions as Beethoven's *Fidelio* and Cherubini's *Faniska* should have been written at the same time independently of one another; that both works should have been in advance of their age; that both should display a striking similarity of style, especially in the treatment of the orchestra; and that both should have suffered from the reproach of the music being too learned for the public of the period. With regard to *Fidelio*, we know that even the subsequent representations in Vienna did not take with the public, and that it was reserved for our own time to see this magnificent
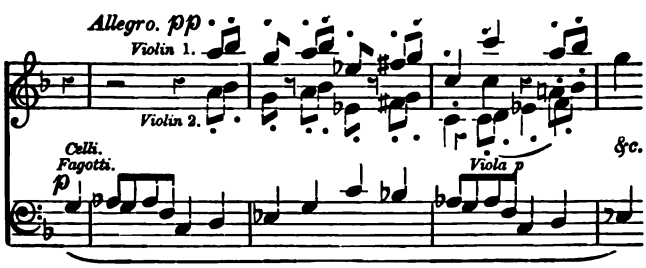
[1] *Biog. Univ.* vol. vi. p. 60, art. 'Méhul.'

work appreciated in all countries. *Faniska* enjoyed at first a better fate. It is true that in Vienna it was not often repeated, but it was performed at other German theatres. The writer of the present article recollects its being performed when he was a youth, at the theatres of Dresden and Dessau. It produced a deep impression, and its merits were readily allowed by the critics, although, owing to the unsatisfactory libretto, it did not become firmly established in public favour. Yet the music is some of the best and most dramatic which this style of composition can boast; and it might be well worth while, after modifying the book, to reproduce the opera on the stage, just as the same composer's *Medea* has been successfully revived at Frankfort-on-the-Maine and Munich.'[2] The above allusion to the modification of the libretto reminds me that, about twenty years after the first representation of *Faniska*, Cherubini began to meditate about having the work represented in Paris at the Opéra Comique, with another libretto. This doubtless explains the mention in 1831 of a march to be substituted for that of the night patrol in the third act of *Faniska*. Guilbert de Pixérécourt, a playwright, began to adapt it to the *Mines de Pologne;* but Cherubini suddenly changed his mind about the matter, thinking that what pleased the

[2] *Musical World.*

Viennese would never suit the Parisians; and accordingly took up *Kourkourgi* and wrote *Ali Baba* instead. As to the similarity of operatic style between Beethoven and Cherubini, it has been recognised by Mendelssohn, who, speaking of *Fidelio*, observes: 'On looking into the score, as well as on listening to the performance, I everywhere perceive Cherubini's dramatic style of composition. It is true that Beethoven did not ape that style, but it was before his mind as his most cherished pattern.'[2]

The overture to *Faniska* is considered one of its author's most finished works. While the opening is surprising and beautiful, and the allegro exceedingly gay, the most striking portion is a strange, weird, yet lovely subject, for the violoncellos and bassoons, that occurs later on, and is repeated with a delightful
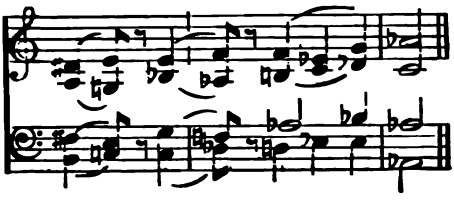


[2] Ella's *Musical Sketches*. What is this but a clear support to the opinion expressed by the *Athenæum* in 1872, that but for *Les Deux Journées* we should never have had *Fidelio* at all?

persistency, and with an airy accompaniment for the violins, to use the phrase of Mr. Macfarren, 'hovering' over it. Of the opera itself, the account in the *Harmonicon* for 1830 is the only one I have been able to find, from which I extract the following:
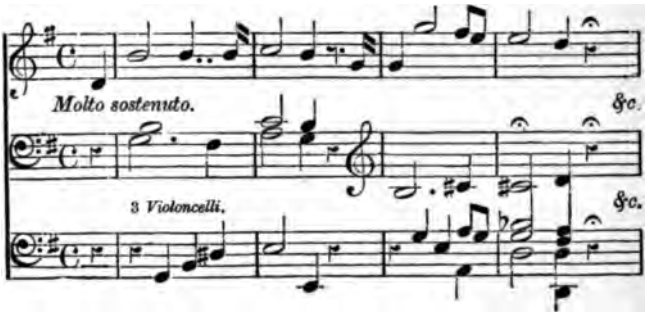
'The story is shortly as follows. In some one of the convulsions which desolated Poland, Faniska and her infant daughter are seized and imprisoned in the castle of Count Zamoski. The fortunate gaoler is of course, *selon les règles*, deeply enamoured of his captive, and also of course finds her deaf to his most earnest entreaties. As a last resource, he determines to impress her with the belief that her husband, Count Rasinski, is dead. Rasinski, who in disguise is hanging about his rival's castle, offers to become himself the messenger of his own decease, and is introduced for that purpose to the lady. He meets his wife with firmness, and delivers to her his own portrait as the proof of his veracity, when the infantine caresses of his daughter cause him to betray himself, and he is forthwith consigned to a dungeon, with the comfortable assurance of meeting, on the morrow, the fate of a traitor. This ends the first act. The second and third are occupied by the usual intrigues and expedients to work his liberation, which is at length effected; his party storm the castle, Zamoski falls, and the hus-

band and wife are again united. It will be seen, by this short sketch, that the story offers many good and even affecting dramatic situations, of which the composer has not been slow to take advantage. We proceed to a more detailed programme of the music. The overture to *Faniska* is too well known to all who have attended either the Philharmonic or any other concerts where classical music is performed to need description here. The introduction opens with a presto movement in B flat, $\frac{3}{4}$ time. For the first ten or twelve bars, the violins and basses move in octaves; afterwards the subject is continued in octaves by the stringed instruments, and accompanied by chords filled in by the wind instruments. Zamoski, in great agitation, is awaiting the result of the attempt to seize Faniska, and rapidly interrogating the Cossacks who form his guard. At length his agent Oranski arrives, and announces that his plan has succeeded, so far as regards the captivity of Faniska and her child, though her husband has escaped. The satisfaction of Zamoski is expressed in an elegant and lively andante in $\frac{2}{4}$, accompanied by a chorus. No. 2. A scena and aria for Zamoski, a bass. The recitative is short, but marked by much beautiful modulation, of which the following example is as delightful to the ear as it is bold in the conception:



'The aria in E flat commences with an andantino movement in common time, in which Zamoski expresses the extent of his passion for Faniska. He then charges Oranski, an officer of his guards, and Moska, a waiting-woman, to be most careful of her safety, and (aside) encourages each to be a spy upon the other's fidelity. The whole of this movement, more particularly the parts spoken aside, is highly characteristic. The stringed instruments throughout are chiefly in octaves to a moving bass; while the wind instruments are used to mark and fill up the harmonies. It is studded with beautiful points of imitation and singing phrases for the wind instruments. This song requires vast powers of voice, and also great compass, ranging from the low F to E flat on the second leger line of the bass staff; but we venture to predict that it would well reward any bass singer who would introduce it to a classical audience. It will be found, with Italian words, in an abridged copy of the opera, published by Breitkopf and Haertel. No. 3 introduces Faniska in a re-

citative obbligato of which it is hardly too much to say that, for variety of modulation and just expression, it yields only to the great scene in *Don Giovanni*, where Donna Anna mourns over the dead body of her murdered parent, and incites her lover to revenge his death. To this succeeds a preghiera in G, *molto sostenuto* ("Eterno iddio"). The principal feature is an accompaniment of three violoncellos obbligati; but occasional phrases for the wind instruments are interspersed.[4]
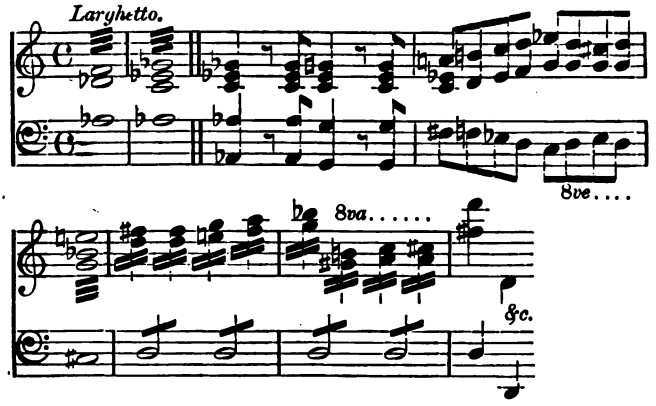


No. 4. is a terzetto in A, between Faniska and her two guards, Moska and Oranski. The latter pretends the greatest devotion to his captive's wishes, while the former assumes, at first, an air of total indifference, declaring that she neither pities nor hates her, and is only determined to do her duty. She soon after, however, cautions Faniska (aside)

[4] The whole of this air is given in the *Harmonicon*.

against trusting Oranski, and recommends her to prove him by demanding an interview with her child. In this trio, as in all the other pieces of the opera, a marked motion runs through the whole, and is both original and beautiful. . . . .

'No. 5 is a chorus of villagers on a very simple vocal subject; but the repetitions abound in variations of instrumental accompaniment, which evince the command Cherubini has over this branch of his art. . . . . The chorus is followed by a short melodrame and polonaise, which form Nos. 6 and 7. The finale to the first act commences with a larghetto in D, rather in a recitative style. Rasinski, disguised, is introduced by Zamoski to announce the news of his own death to Faniska. In proof of his veracity, Rasinski delivers a miniature of himself, which Faniska apostrophises in a beautifully flowing and pathetic andante in A. She shows the portrait to her child, whose infantine raptures, on recognising the likeness of her father, lead Rasinski to betray himself. The moment when the father seizes and bathes with involuntary tears his daughter's hand, the instantaneous burst of rage from Zamoski, is accompanied by the following bold and effective transition:



A combat succeeds, and the finale ends with a spirited *allegro molto* in D. We have been unconsciously led to extend our extracts from the first act of this opera so far as to leave but little space in which to notice the second and third acts.. The second act opens with a scena in F for Faniska, consisting of a recitative, andante, and allegro, all of great beauty, but requiring too much compass of voice and execution for amateurs. To this succeeds an animated duet between her and Rasinski; a romance in G minor, very similar, but at the same time superior, to that in the same author's *Deux Journées*, which was sung in the English version of that opera (*The Escapes, or the Water-carrier*) to the words "A little boy, a Savoyard;" and the well-known exquisite canon "Non mi negate," published here along with the "Perfida Clori." In the third act, the music, with

the exception of one quartet of action, is chiefly military. There are three marches, two of which are superior to the general run of such compositions, though certainly not at all equal to Mozart's march in *Figaro*. The finale consists of a vaudeville air, sung alternately by the principal characters, and interspersed with a simple chorus.'

Now to touch upon the relations between Beethoven and Cherubini. Schindler informs us[5] that Cherubini's criticisms on Beethoven were harsh; that Beethoven did not always take them well; that he found a champion, even as late as the years 1841 and 1842, in Cherubini's wife; that when Cherubini spoke of Beethoven, he always ended by saying, 'mais il est toujours brusque;' that on his return to Paris his communications[6] about *Fidelio* showed 'the slight opinion he had of it;' that he 'was present at the earliest representation of *Fidelio* in 1805, and also in 1806,' and 'told the musicians of Paris, when speaking to them about the overture to *Leonora*, No. 3, that on account of the medley of modulations in it, he was unable to recognise the original key;' that, 'after hearing *Fidelio*, Cherubini arrived at the conclusion that Beethoven had not devoted sufficient

[5] *Beethoven's Biography*, vol. i. p. 114. Vide *Musical World*, 1862.

[6] What communications? A friend of the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* searched for them in vain among the Paris papers.

attention and study to the art of singing, and therefore "took the liberty" of recommending it strongly to his attention, for which purpose he sent for the *Method of the Paris Conservatoire*, in order to make him a present of it;' and that Beethoven 'preserved in his little library, to the last days of his existence, the book he received from Cherubini.' The writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, speaking of the statement about the overture to *Leonora*, No. 3, says: 'For this decidedly remarkable assertion, Schindler gives no authority. What reliance ought to be placed on anecdotes and statements of this kind, related of eminent composers, and propagated by mere report, Schindler himself has found out, often enough, in the case of Beethoven.' That Cherubini should say that Beethoven was *brusque* was only the truth, whilst Beethoven's keeping the book on singing, which was a gift of Cherubini, shows how he valued the friendship and counsel of one more learned in music than himself, and ten years his senior. But even supposing it were true that, as is reported, Cherubini said of Beethoven's symphonies, 'It is impossible to understand all this; it is a mere *dévergondage*;' and that Mendelssohn had been well informed in saying that Cherubini remarked of Beethoven's later style, 'This makes me yawn;' what do these mere conversational observations weigh in contrast with deeds? Cheru-

bini, a warm admirer of Beethoven, in whom he recognised a genius that had something in common with his own,[7] is seen actively forwarding, in the face of prejudices hardly credible and which have now long since vanished, performances at Paris of Beethoven's works. That is enough. Besides the friendship of Haydn and Beethoven, Cherubini gained Hummel's as well, and on returning to Paris took one of the latter's great sonatas with him, thus being the very first to introduce some of Hummel's music to the Parisians.

The Haydn-verein, a fund founded by Gassmann in 1771, for the widows and orphans of musicians (previous to 1862 called Tonkünstler-Societät) has Cherubini on its list of subscribers.[8] No doubt he became one during his stay in Vienna.

Cherubini would have willingly written something more for the Germans, but the late war had ruined so many things, that he settled upon returning to Paris. Before quitting Vienna, he went to take leave of Haydn, and asked him as a parting favour for the original MS. of one of his scores. Haydn gave him an unpublished symphony, and is said to have remarked, 'Allow me to call myself

[7] There is a well-known saying of, I think, one of our critics touching Beethoven: 'He unites the joyfulness of Haydn with the melancholy of Mozart, while his music *mostly resembles Cherubini's*.'

[8] *Monthly Musical Record*, 1872, vol. i. p. 63.

your musical father, and to greet you by the title of my son.' It is recorded that Cherubini sought Mozart's tomb, but that, on being unable to find the resting-place of him for whom he had so strong an affection, he felt that Vienna was not the place for him. Such neglect of honour and love for this mighty genius struck him forcibly. At Paris he was *facile princeps* among musicians; at Vienna he would be confronting Beethoven, Hummel, Albrechtsberger, Preindl, Weigl, Gyrowetz, Salieri, and others. A permanent residence would have brought him into conflict with all these men; it would have been too hot for him.[9] Then, too, the fickle Parisians were already wishing him back again, and saying that they could not do without him. On the 9th of March, Cherubini, with his wife and daughter, left Vienna, and reached Paris on the 1st of April 1806. At a fête improvised for him at the Conservatoire, his entrance into the great hall was the signal for transports of enthusiasm. Some pieces out of his operas were executed, and the welcome from ardent youth (though unpleasing to Napoleon) could not but encourage him. He now finished his great Credo for eight voices begun in Italy in 1778 or 1779, and which Thibaut, the severe critic, calls 'incomparable.' Two years later, in 1808, Reicha returned from

[9] Arnold.

Vienna, and caused some stir at the Conservatoire by dedicating to Cherubini a fugal treatment of the march in *Les Deux Journées.* 'He developed in this work,' says Miel, in his *Annals of the Institute,* 'not only all the science which was characteristic of him, but also a charm which it was not usual to find in the fugal style.' With a symphony of Reicha, the piece was performed at the Conservatoire.

In 1807 Spontini's great opera of *La Vestale* appeared with success, the libretto of which, by Jouy, had been first of all successively offered to and refused by Cherubini, Méhul, Boieldieu, Paër, and others, until, in despair, Jouy offered it to Spontini. The work, in some respects closely allied to Cherubini's school of opera, had, in competing successfully for the decennial prize instituted by Napoleon, to contend with Cherubini, Lesueur, Méhul, Gossec, Grétry, Berton, and Catel; *Les Deux Journées* and Méhul's *Joseph,* however, gained honourable mention. But such were the strife and ill-feeling aroused by the decisions of the jury that Spontini never received his 10,000 francs nor Jouy his 5000, the Emperor thinking it advisable to avoid giving further offence to all the other discontented musicians. It is a noticeable fact that the jury, of which Cherubini was a member, for examining works for the Grand Opera, were against *La Vestale* being put on the stage, an

opera since performed for thirty years with immense success, thanks in a measure to the Empress Josephine, who ordered the work to be represented, notwithstanding the jury's decision. The enemies of Spontini have called his operas 'elephants;' but no one can deny that he is a most original composer. 'It is a very difficult thing,' says Henry Chorley, 'to give to a composer, having a history like Spontini, a fair and fit pedestal in the musical Pantheon—and one neither too high nor too low. Partisanship is sure to enlist itself in the matter. . . . What if he be classed among the Germanised Italians, of whom Cherubini was one, and Clementi another, and who have lost with their nationality their national *dolcezza* as entirely as certain Italianised Germans—Hesse, Mayer, Winter—have gained it? This will, in part, help us towards a definition; but, it must be added, that while Spontini had the dryness which, I fancy, distinguishes the pianoforte music of Clementi, and even (in a less degree) the magnificent compositions of the greater Cherubini, he has nowhere shown a science in any respect analogous to theirs. He wrote only opera. . . . A certain temperate eclecticism pervades Spontini's operas, which is often insipid, rarely beautiful, never deep; and because of this, it may justly be feared, they will sink into oblivion, with all the fine things and brilliant movements which they

comprise; whereas *Les Deux Journées* of Cherubini, and the *Didone Abbandonata* of Clementi, though less brilliant and less conciliatory of popular suffrage, and, like Spontini's music, rather dry, will not soon be forgotten.'[10] It was after the public had given such a blow to the chief Parisian composers by extolling to the skies what they had judged as altogether unworthy of musical treatment, that Méhul and Cherubini deigned to accept from poor Jouy, the one *Les Amazones*, and the other *Les Abencérages*. Of Méhul's masterpiece, Professor Ella observes: 'Whether owing to the sacred subject of the drama, which admits of no very strikingly impassioned music, or otherwise, the opera of *Joseph*, produced in Paris in 1807, was not received with very great enthusiasm. At the present time, *Joseph* is occasionally performed in Vienna and at Paris. Cherubini, the contemporary of Méhul, having produced his opera *Faniska* at Vienna with success, and being proclaimed by the German critics the most learned of dramatic composers, Méhul unwisely abandoned his natural style, and encumbered the score of *Joseph* with bald imitations of his classical rival, which gave to his music a certain effect of mannerism. Notwithstanding this defect in *Joseph*, there are beautiful melodies, a grand dramatic sentiment, and a local colour which is excel-

[10] *Modern German Music*, vol. i. p. 204.

lent. Often as I have perused the touching narrative of Joseph and his brethren, its performance at the Opéra Comique in 1829, in Paris, produced a more deep and lasting impression on my feelings. The scenery and costumes historically correct; the singing, acting, and orchestra perfection. I do not envy the man who could witness the affecting interview of Joseph and his father, sung and acted as I witnessed it, without being moved to tears."[11]

Cherubini meanwhile did little or nothing in the way of composing. Some say that he had refused in vexation the poem of *La Vestale;* for he saw that his popularity annoyed Napoleon, a popularity which showed that people had the boldness to esteem one whom the great man did not favour. Set aside as he was, while Méhul, Gossec, Grétry, and Lesueur had received honours, it is not to be wondered at if Cherubini became disheartened. He ceased to compose almost altogether. One air for Crescentini was written in 1806 at Paris; and a chorus and 'melodrame' (for an opera begun only) were composed in 1807, when also was finished a collection of canons for two, three, and four voices, composed at different times, counting from the year 1779 to 1807. In this difficult form of music, Cherubini excelled and delighted. All know *Perfida Clori*, printed in London

[11] *Lectures at the London Inst.* p. 20.

as early as 1810, the popularity of which in this country may be gathered from the fact that it has been set to *God save Victoria*, and other English words. Ten canons of Cherubini, including *Perfida Clori*, were published by Clementi in 1821. In 1807, according to Arnold, Cherubini led the earliest performance in Paris of Beethoven's first symphony. In 1808, he set music to a romance by Bernard, called *Le Mystère*, for the Austrian ambassador, Count Metternich; but for eighteen months he lay in a state of nervous depression. It was even reported in Vienna that he was dead.[12] For eight hours a day he would occupy himself with drawing and botany. 'His exquisite organisation as an artist,' says Miel, 'would probably have made him a great painter, as it made him a great musician. Before now, we have seen him amuse himself with drawing flowers on playing cards taken up haphazard; mastering with an uncommon skill the distribution of the different points, figures, and colours, he found means adapting all sorts of subjects.' The clubs, spades, hearts, and diamonds formed the nucleus of the devices. 'But,' continues Miel, 'it is, above all, in a set of figures drawn with the pencil, and with the hard contour of the old Florentine masters, in the profiles, that the native force of his talent is recognised.' One day,

[12] Arnold.

David the painter, Cherubini's friend, came in upon him while he was doing in crayon on a common piece of paper a landscape after Salvator Rosa, with many rocks, and traversed by a torrent that made a way for itself through a narrow mountain-pass. So pleased was David, that he cried out, 'In truth, admirable, courage!' The drawing subsequently came into the possession of Salvador Cherubini, the composer's son. Music being abandoned, Cherubini took to studying with assiduity the science of Linnæus, Jussieu, and Tournefort, and placed himself under Des Fontaines. He also made a herbal, 'a sad and interesting memorial of this phase of his life, which remains in the family.'[13] These pursuits somewhat improved his health, but he needed complete rest. He had become acquainted with M. de Caraman, Prince of Chimay, and the Princess, well known for her beauty and amiability. They both invited him to their country seat in Belgium; and so, in 1808, he set out, accompanied by Auber, for the castle of Chimay.

[13] Denne-Baron.

[redacted]

PART II.

ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC.

1808–1842.



CHAPTER I.

1808–1809.

Repose at Chimay—Origin of the Mass in F—Performance of the Kyrie and Gloria on St. Cecilia's Day—The whole work executed on Cherubini's return to Paris at the Hôtel du Babylon—The later school of Church music.

CHERUBINI arrived safely at the castle of Chimay. Bent on regaining his health and strength, he discarded laborious pursuits, and contented himself with studying botany and taking walks in the park. Music, almost abandoned, was purposely not mentioned in his presence, and he was left undisturbed to himself. It so happened, however, that St. Cecilia's Day, the 22d of November, was coming round; and the little musical society in the village of Chimay made bold to send a deputation, at the suggestion of its president, to Cherubini at the castle, to ask him to write for them a mass that could be performed in the Chimay church on the day of the feast. The deputation being introduced, the president, with some trepidation, explained their object in coming. 'No, it's impossible,' curtly replied Che-

rubini; and he went on busying himself with his flowers, paying no further attention whatever to the deputation, which stood for a moment irresolute, and then withdrew in confusion. The sympathies of the inmates of the castle were with it; but what could be done? Nothing was said about what had occurred; but next day it was remarked that Cherubini, evidently preoccupied, took an unusually long walk alone in the park; and Madame de Chimay, perceiving that he had not made his usual botanical excursion, placed some music-paper on his table covered with specimens of plants. Returning from his solitary walk, Cherubini began to trace out in full score the Kyrie of his renowned Mass in F. He wrote it without apparent thought or labour, in a corner of his room, in the intervals of repose from his labours, playing at pool in the billiard-room.

Miel states that the Kyrie of the Mass in F was entirely written in the billiard-room during a single game of pool, the composer only laying his pen down when told that it was his turn to play, and not being in the least disturbed by the talking that was going on around him. What a long game of pool it must have been! Others speak of Cherubini's writing the Kyrie in his room, and playing at pool, or billiards, in the intervals of rest from his work; and I have followed this less sen-

sational account as being more probably the true one.

In the above account of the origin of the Mass in F, all the biographers have been followed except Denne-Baron, who makes a statement to the effect that Cherubini took a fancy to having a mass sung in the castle chapel; that the Princess de Chimay, after every preparation had been made, had recourse to him for the music, and that he refused her; but that at length, overcome by entreaty, he began a mass.

Eventually Cherubini finished writing, and going up to Auber showed him the manuscript, a piece for three voices, with instrumental accompaniments. Auber wished it to be tried, a proposal to which Cherubini assented; and that very evening Auber seated himself at the piano, Madame Duchambge, a visitor, taking the soprano, and the Prince of Chimay the tenor. They could hardly wait till the end of the piece to express their admiration to Cherubini, who himself sang the bass. A Gloria was soon added. Meanwhile St. Cecilia's Day was close at hand, and it was clear that the whole mass could not be completed in time. Yet it was agreed that the Kyrie and Gloria should be performed. The village was ransacked for instruments, and it turned out that all the resources amounted to only two

horns, two clarinets, a quartet of strings, a flute, and a bassoon. With such simple appliances, united to the voices of the village choir, were the Kyrie and Gloria executed: in truth, that St. Cecilia's Day was marked with a white stone in the annals of Chimay. Cherubini, after this effort, began to take to music again more kindly, without, however, in any way neglecting botany, the study of which was prosecuted with greater zeal than ever. He began a herbal, which he preserved with care, and which eventually came into the possession of his son-in-law, Rossellini.

Remaining at Chimay some short while longer, Cherubini, restored to health and art, returned to Paris, where he completed the rest of the Mass in F, of which the first grand performance, from the manuscript score, took place in 1809, at the Hôtel de Babylon, the town residence of the Prince of Chimay. Among the violinists present were Baillot, Kreutzer, Rode, Habeneck, Libon, Mazas, and Grasset; the violoncellists included Lamare, Levasseur, Duport, Baudiot, and Norblin; the clarinet-players, Lefebvre and Dacosta; the horns-players, Duvernoy and Dominick; the flutists, Tulou; and the bassoon-players, Delcambre. Indeed the instrumentalists mustered stronger than the vocalists. The Mass in F was received with enthusiasm, and, being pub-

lished in 1810, soon made its way over all Europe. Fétis, who was present at this first performance, speaks of it in his *Etudes sur Cherubini:* 'Never shall I forget,' he exclaims, 'the effect produced by this Mass confided to such interpreters. All the celebrities of Paris, of whatsoever rank they might be, attended the performance, where the glory of the great composer shone forth with a living lustre. During the interval between the performance of the Gloria and that of the Credo, groups everywhere formed themselves, and all expressed an unreserved admiration for this composition of a new order, whereby Cherubini has placed himself above all musicians who have as yet written in the concerted style of church-music. Superior to the masses of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and the masters of the Neapolitan school, that of Cherubini is as much remarkable for originality of idea as for perfection of art.'
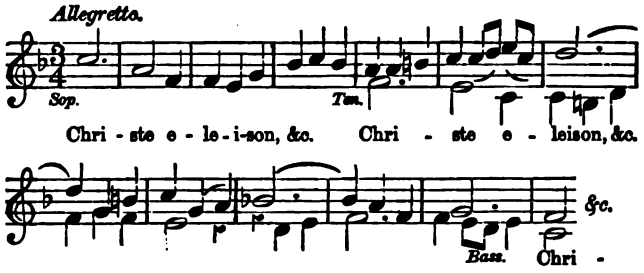
'At this time,' says Picchianti, 'he (Cherubini) brought out the celebrated Mass in F for three voices, which alone would suffice to immortalise the name of Luigi Cherubini, and by which he created a new kind of religious music which had nothing in common with anything that had been produced before.

'All the musical science of the good age of religious music, the sixteenth century of the Christian

era, was summed up in Palestrina, who flourished at that time, and by its aid he put into form noble and sublime conceptions. With the grave Gregorian melody, learnedly elaborated in rigorous counterpoint, and reduced to greater clearness and elegance without any instrumental aid, Palestrina knew how to awaken among his hearers mysterious, grand, deep, vague sensations that seemed caused by the objects of an unknown world, or by superior powers in the human imagination. With the same profound thoughtfulness of the old Catholic music, enriched by the perfection which art has attained in two centuries, and with all the means which a composer can nowadays make use of, Cherubini perfected another conception, and this consisted in utilising the style adapted to dramatic expression when narrating the sacred text, by which means he was able to succeed in depicting man in his various vicissitudes, now rising to the praises of Divinity, now gazing on the Supreme Power, now suppliant and prostrate. So that while Palestrina's music places God before man, that of Cherubini places man before God.
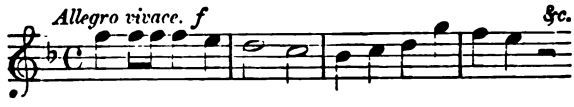
'The Mass of which we have just spoken and from which we must date our estimation of Cherubini as the most sublime composer of church-music of his time, was conceived on a grand scale, and constructed on a well-distributed and calculated plan. The Kyrie

(220 bars), of a terse and artificial style, but of a rather mundane cast, presents an almost continual undulation from crescendo to decrescendo, as though the composer wished to express the heart-fluctuation of a sinner who is praying. Nothing simpler and more ingenious could be imagined than the melody of the subject that the soprano gives out in the "Christe."



This seems the prayer of a pure and innocent virgin, that comes forth from the innermost depths of the heart, and rises to the throne of the Almighty. The light and delicate accompaniment *obbligato* of the orchestra, which sustains the same movement up to the end, perfectly preserves, from beginning to end, the character of the fugue; which, on account of the learned art with which it is elaborated, the beauty of the counterpoint, and the general effect produced, must be reputed a perfect model in this kind of composition, just as all the other fugues in this and any other Mass that Cherubini has written.

There is a most beautiful contrast between the brilliant idea of the opening of the Gloria and the
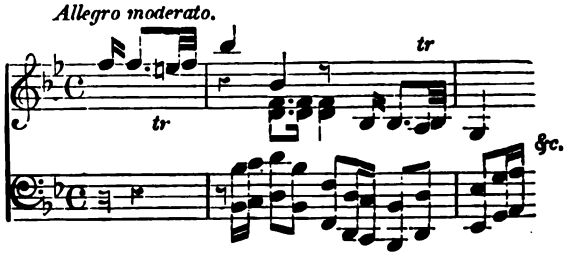


other tender and subdued ideas which are expressed in the words "et in terra pax." After which the music, returning to the movement of the Gloria, passes to an *andante con moto* of superb art, in which are included all the words, beginning with "laudamus te" down to the three "Domine."[1]

'Here reappears in its entirety the first subject of the Gloria, succeeded by a *tempo sostenuto*, worked out in a masterly manner, and leading us from the "qui tollis" to the "cum Sancto Spiritu," together with which it forms a short prelude to the superb fugue, developed on the words "in gloria Dei." The accompaniments of simple *rinforzo*, employed by the orchestra from the beginning of the fugue, are suddenly changed on the last *stretti* into accompaniments *obbligati*, and then, in a long pedal point on the dominant, the chief melody of the opening Gloria is stealthily introduced, which unites with the subject in the fugue and comes to prepare us for the grand

[1] This, it will be noticed, is quite a novel arrangement; 'laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te,' being almost invariably included in the strain of triumph at the 'gloria in excelsis.'

final cadence. The Credo (435 bars) begins with the intonation of *canto-fermo*, which the three vocal parts repeat in imitation of the *motivo* and answer of a fugue. And at the end of each verse, mostly worked out by contrapuntal devices *con attacchi*, and with imitations, all the voices in unison or at octaves forcibly bring out, with the word "credo," the notes essential to the perfect cadence, which starts a new tone with which the next verse is connected. This same procedure, repeated some seven times before we come to the "incarnatus," presents us with a continual assertion of full faith in all those articles which are put forth, and which the Christian must profess and believe. A certain persistent phrase in the basses of the orchestra, perfectly supported by that of the violins and other instruments, forms a most beautiful accompaniment to a movement rather *moderato.*



After a slow movement with two *tempi*, in which the incarnation and crucifixion of the Man-God are pathetically described (the violins in the latter portion

wailing in arpeggio accompaniment), we come to the allegro, where His resurrection is depicted, and, with the usual formula "credo," already employed in the first movement, the composer returns to emphasise the remaining articles of the Catholic Faith till he reaches the words, "et vitam venturi sæculi," to which a fine fugue is allied, which forms the magnificent finale of the Credo. Most learned harmonies and exquisite melodies are met with in the Sanctus (105 bars), and in the Agnus Dei (61 bars), which concludes with a very beautiful *tempo fugato* of excellent art, on the words "dona nobis pacem."[2]

We have now to consider Cherubini in a new light. 'Up to this time,' observes Fétis, 'church-music, as Palestrina and the other great masters of the old Roman school had conceived it, had been treated as an emanation of pure sentiment, stripped of all human passion. Cherubini, on the contrary, wished his music to express the dramatic sense of the words, and in the realisation of his idea, he has been able to blend the severe beauties of counterpoint and fugue with dramatic expression, sustained by every wealth of instrumentation. Here, as in the theatre, and without laying aside in anything the rigour of rules, he has revealed a new art, the developments of which, brought about some years

[2] Picchianti, p. 48.

later, characterise the third epoch of the artistic life of the great musician.'

As a composer for the church, then, Cherubini was opposed to Palestrina's notion that ecclesiastical music must always be something ideal, and in maintaining, on the contrary, that it might also express dramatically the sense of the text, he pretty well agreed with Haydn and Mozart: but those masters are at times trivial and undevotional; they often thought of their singers first, and their subjects second, and from being dramatic fell into the snare of being theatrical. Certainly their masses have been of late too much decried, for many of them are the most beautiful in the world. Let these masters yield the penitential seasons of Lent and Advent to Palestrina and his school. It is theirs to celebrate the joys, not the sorrows, of the Liturgical year. Still their defects left room for a more earnest, profound, devotional music, fit to represent a theory, which, though true, was liable to abuse.

In 1809 appeared Cherubini's Mass in F, eventually followed by those four colossal Masses in D, the glory of the later school of church-music, by Cherubini, Niedermeyer, Beethoven, and Hummel respectively. But while these last were lengthy, carefully elaborated, and suitable for grand occasions rather than for ordinary use, there was no remissness

in creating others of the same order of architecture, though on a less extended scale. To this thoughtfulness we owe the splendid Mass in C of Beethoven (1810), the melodious Mass in C of Cherubini (1816), his Coronation Masses in G (1819) and A (1825), Reissiger's fine Mass in E flat, and Hummel's Masses in B flat and E flat. Nor were the Hymn and the Requiem neglected by Cherubini, and Hummel bequeathed a new masterpiece to sacred music in his 'Quodquod in orbe.'

All these later writers of church-music have solved the problem, whether to be dramatic it is necessary to be theatrical. They have come to their task with seriousness, well knowing that the mass need not be one strain of triumph, as Haydn makes it; and with the occasional exception of Hummel, they have always placed their theme, not the singer, in the foreground. They disagree with Palestrina in one important point; they go with him hand-in-hand in every other. Seeing what modern times require, they nevertheless lean towards antiquity; with all the marvellous development which musical science has undergone in the last century, they centre in themselves the spirit of the old Roman master, searching as they did for the secret of his solemn and devotional feeling in a deep study of his works. 'If Palestrina had lived in our own times,' says

Adolphe Adam, 'he would have been Cherubini;' in other words, a dramatic Palestrina. As Palestrina saved the reputation of *ideal concerted church-music*, so has Cherubini rescued that of *dramatic concerted church-music*. I am aware that Cherubini's church-music has been deemed theatrical by a few critics; and this was almost inevitable, seeing that he is so dramatic. None, however, have gone the length of M. Viellard, who, in his notice of Méhul, after praising Lesueur's church-music, says, 'The music of Cherubini, otherwise full of charm and harmonic power, hardly ever exhibits a religious character.' Spohr, after abusing a mass of Lesueur, which he heard at Paris, as frivolous and theatrical, and without even a four-part management of the voices, proceeds to say, 'But will you believe it when I assure you that even the worthy master Cherubini has allowed himself to be led away by this bad example, and that his masses exhibit in many places a theatrical style? It is true that he makes amends for it in those places with superior music, full of effect; but who can enjoy it, if he cannot wholly forget the place in which he hears it?' He adds, 'It would be less regrettable that Cherubini also should deviate from the true ecclesiastical style, if in some individual parts he did not show in what a dignified manner he can move in it. Several separate subjects in his masses—particularly

the circumstances of the age, we must allow that Cherubini's expressive as well as brilliant Mass in D minor, and especially his Requiem in C minor, are noble and sublime conceptions. Notwithstanding the most lavish employment of orchestral and choral resources, these works are characterised by lofty simplicity, exquisite proportion, distinctness of form, and powerful imagination.' Clément, in his *Histoire de la Musique Religieuse*, disposes both of Beethoven and Cherubini in the following few sentences: 'Beethoven had not a religious soul. You would search in vain for the accents of prayer in the two masses which he composed, and even in his one oratorio, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*. He astonishes, he transports; he overwhelms the soul. He commands admiration, but he does not excite sensibility.' Again: 'Cherubini's church-music is imprinted with an elevated character, and, in an artistic point of view, is full of beauties so exquisite, with such an amount of science and taste, that it cannot but excite the admiration of artists. But Cherubini's works are wanting in one precious quality—simplicity. The Coronation Mass, the Ave Maria, the Ecce Panis, reveal the author of thirty operas.' Now, not to go further than just to notice that Schlüter most unfortunately brings in the Requiem in C minor (one of Cherubini's works which, as we shall see,

have no dramatic treatment at all) as a theatrical work, and that while he admits that Cherubini has simplicity, Clément says that our composer has none, let me say that by theatrical church-music I mean always what is offensively operatic and frivolous. Cherubini, as an ecclesiastical composer, is never either the one or the other. Neither does his nor does Beethoven's music appear to me to owe its origin to the concert-room. Dramatic music is generally theatrical; these masters proved that it need not be so, and, by studying Palestrina, escaped from being undevotional.[4] They, indeed, made certain effects of *instrumentation*, which may be found in their operas, subservient to their subject. But even this only occasionally, and with solemnity, sweetness, and unction ever present. For no other reason but this can Cherubini ever be called theatrical. One or two of his motets may possibly be open to slight animadversion; but taken as a whole, if he is to be called theatrical, then has he made theatrical music devotional. But who would wish to be driven to this ground of defence? Music, like the other arts, having an end of its own, there is always more or less danger when it seizes hold of the offices of the church for its own illustration; but Cherubini's

[4] Fétis tells us that he realised the importance of studying the old Italian masters and their traditions, after some conversations which he had with Cherubini in 1804.

whole spirit and style are perfectly in conformity with the instructions of the Holy See. Pope Benedict XIV. says: 'Where the religious song is accompanied by musical instruments, these must serve solely for adding to its force, so that the sense of the words penetrate deeper into the hearts of the faithful, and their spirit, being roused to the contemplation of spiritual things, be elevated towards God and the love of divine objects.' Such is the effect on most minds of Cherubini's orchestration in the church. It aids us in realising the meaning of the sacred text. 'Magnifique, élevé, dramatique,' exclaims Father Girod of Cherubini; 'il n'outre rien, il n'exagère jamais. Il ne blesse en aucun cas les convenances religieuses, et jamais par sa musique il ne vous transporte au théâtre.' The praise becomes greater: 'He can be powerful or pathetic, severe or graceful, gay or grave, in a variety always new. . . He could adapt his talent to the minutest exigencies, the most complicated of scenes, of expressions, of prophecies, of sorrows, of hopes, of holy feelings found in the Bible and the Liturgy. He possessed a remarkable aptitude for rendering sensible, for interpreting religious truths; and when we hear his music, we understand that this harmonious language, so sublime, so persuasive, is not made for the holy temples, but for our intercourse with heaven.'

Thus writes Miel: 'Nothing more tender, more soothing is there than the accents of the prayer, more touching than the cry of suffering humanity, in the Kyrie of the Mass in F, in his Agnus Deis, and in the first strophes of his Requiem. If he represents the Passion and Death of Christ, the heart feels itself wounded with the most sublime emotion; and when he recounts the Last Judgment, the blood freezes with dread at the redoubled and menacing calls of the exterminating angel. All those admirable pictures that the Raphaels and Michael Angelos have painted with colours and the brush, Cherubini brings forth with the voice and the orchestra.'

Doubtless, no small part of his triumph, in that sacred music where he unrolls before us what Place well styles those 'sublime visions,' was owing to the profound religiousness of his character; and when we read that he put the words 'Laus Deo' at the beginning and end of his church pieces, we can understand that an ardent faith contributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to the sweetness and devotion, the purity and lofty inspiration which so eminently distinguish them. In brief, if Cherubini is the chief of a later school of opera, no less is he the chief of a later, and by common consent the grandest, school of modern church-music.

CHAPTER II.

1809–1811.

Pimmalione at the Tuileries—Napoleon—*Le Chant sur le mort de Haydn*—Ode for the Emperor's marriage—Litanies for Prince Esterhazy—*Le Crescendo*—The second Mass in D minor—Its construction and character.

WHEN Napoleon left Vienna in 1805, he brought Crescentini to Paris, and it was agreed that an opera should be written for that singer, without any mention of the name of the author. In 1809, therefore, some of Cherubini's friends, who had tried to overcome Napoleon's aversion towards the Florentine, now persuaded Cherubini to write an opera anonymously for the theatre. *Pimmalione*, in one act, was the result. The first performance took place on the 30th November 1809, at the Théâtre du Château des Tuileries. '*Pimmalione*,' exclaims Fétis enthusiastically, 'ouvrage charmant d'un genre absolument différent des autres productions de Chérubini, et dans lequel on trouvait quelques scènes de la plus heureuse conception.' At the grand scena in the work, Napoleon was affected to tears; he eagerly asked the name of its composer, yet when told, showed more surprise than satisfaction, and said nothing; but

afterwards sent Cherubini a sum of money, and requested him to write the music for an ode on his approaching marriage, which Cherubini did in the May of 1810. The latter also had the score of *Pimmalione* handsomely bound, and given to the Grand Chamberlain, who was charged to present it to the Emperor; but Cherubini heard nothing afterwards of the expected audience, the presentation, or the book. In the January of 1810, Cherubini wrote his beautiful little organ fantasia, published in 1867, in the first volume of his posthumous works.

In the winter of 1810 (Arnold says April 1811), a *Chant sur la mort de Haydn*, composed, according to Cherubini, in 1805, was performed at the Conservatoire, and later on, in Vienna. But Haydn died in 1809. The probable explanation is that in 1805 Cherubini wrote a hymn *in honour of* Haydn, which, being laid by till after the latter's death, was, as I think Denne-Baron hints, put to new words on its performance in 1810. An affecting trait in this chant is noticed by Miel. This is a *motivo*, which, without being actually taken from any in the *Creation*, yet recalls that work in such a way as to make it impossible to mistake Cherubini's intention of reflecting Haydn's inspiration through his own. Elaborate in some respects as a composer, yet Cherubini valued highly the perfect naturalness and breadth of Haydn's

music. For though that music is not on the whole deep, yet it is like an old friend whose voice sounds pleasantly. There is nothing unintelligible in it; you cannot fancy it other than it is; you wonder it was not, so to speak, found out before. According to Reichardt's statement in the 'Briefe aus Paris,' Cherubini's own breadth of treatment, where intricacy does not overmaster him, is owing to his appreciation and study of Haydn's symphonies. In July 1810, Cherubini wrote his lovely 'Litanie della Vergine' for Prince Esterhazy, who, leaving Paris in that year, after having lived some years there, sent Cherubini a ring worth four thousand dollars. It was in this year that Cherubini, Eler, Méhul, Pradher, and Catel were constituted commissioners to report on St. Pern's new instrument called the 'Organon Lyricon.' A favourable report was sent by the commission to the Minister of the Interior on the 12th August 1810. This was not the only time that our composer formed one of a commission of this kind. Thus, he reported with Lefèvre, Eler, Duvernoy, Méhul, Gossec, and Catel on Müller's clarinet; and with Sarrette, Méhul, Gossec, Catel, Rose, Jadin, Baillot, Adam, and Pradher on Grenie's organ.[1]

On the 1st September, Cherubini brought out his *Le Crescendo* at the Opéra Comique, of which Fétis

[1] Castil-Blaze's *Dictionnaire de la Musique Moderne.*

says: 'For a light piece in one act he had written a score of 522 pages in small notes. These long developments destroyed the scenic action. There was however, in this work, an air sung by Martin, the originality of which was very remarkable, the subject being the description of a combat, given by a man who hates noise of any kind. The air is sung *sotto voce*, and the orchestra accompanies *pianissimo*. There is nothing more piquant than this creation of Cherubini's genius.'[2] The work is said to have failed because of the din which the music made. Castil-Blaze says: 'Then it was found too noisy; nowadays it would not be thought noisy enough.'

The *Biographie Nouvelle des Contemporains* and the *Harmonicon* mention *Les Courses de Newmarket* as an opera composed by Cherubini in 1810, whereas Struntz was the real author of that work, which was first represented at the Feydeau Theatre in 1818.

Such other works as Cherubini wrote in 1810 were composed at Chimay, to which he paid a second visit in the autumn.

It was in 1810 that some evilly-disposed persons spread a report about Méhul being jealous of Cherubini, whereupon Méhul wrote a letter, that appeared in the public journals, in which he contented

[2] *Biog. Univ.* art. 'Cherubini.'

himself with stating that he deemed Cherubini the greatest composer in Europe.

Among the many pieces written by Cherubini in 1811 were some for Neukomm and Guerin the painter respectively. Towards the end of March he began, and on the 7th of October finished, his stupendous second Mass in D minor. Thus he spent somewhat more than six months in its composition; yet how short a time was that for undoubtedly the longest Mass that has ever been written![3] I have not succeeded in finding any description of the Mass in D minor, and yet, though I cannot here do it justice within any reasonable limits, I am unwilling to pass over the Mass without some specific notice, and therefore I venture to point out some of the more prominent peculiarities and beauties in a work now, I believe, regarded by many as the composer's greatest achievement in the field of sacred music. In the Mass in D minor, Cherubini would seem to have made up his mind to forestall any attempt on the part of his followers to outstrip him in developing the principles of his own school. In largeness of design and complication of detail, sublimity of conception and dramatic intensity, two works of its class certainly approach it—Beethoven's Mass in D, and Niedermeyer's Mass in D minor.[4]

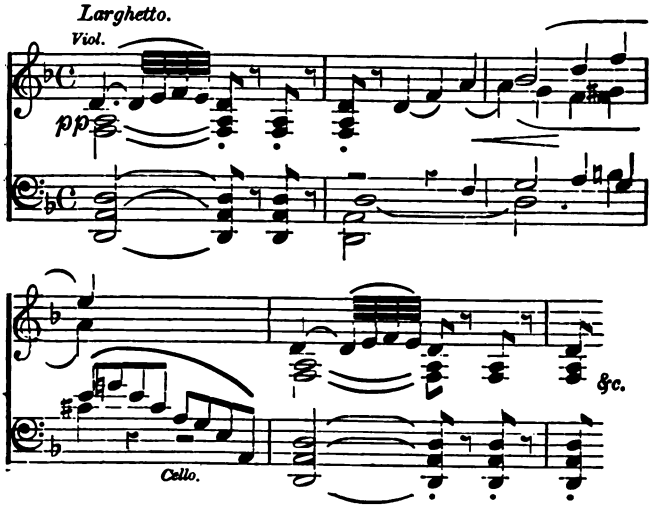
[3] See Appendix II.

[4] Both Beethoven and Cherubini have the reputation of being hard
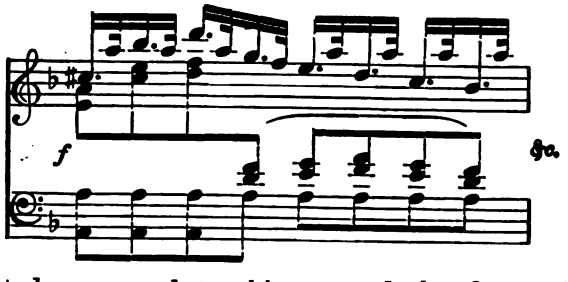
Its appearance caused a division of opinion at Paris among Cherubini's admirers, with reference to its merits, as compared with the Mass in F. But its forms and ideas are more novel than those of the Mass in F. Its enormous length makes it useless for ecclesiastical purposes, except on occasions of great solemnity. It must be remarked, however, that this length in great measure arises from repetition, so that curtailment does not necessitate the alteration of a note of Cherubini. Again, each portion in the various divisions of the Mass in D minor stands so independently that whole passages can be left out without changing a bar. Here we have a number of concerted pieces, each complete in itself; the pauses being very numerous. Take, for instance, the Gloria, which is divided into five parts with ten changes of time.

The Kyrie (437 bars) is divided into no less than three portions, quite distinct from each other in idea; and, beyond a few bars for the instruments, there is not the usual strict return to the first subject. It opens with a majestic introduction in D minor, the subject of which is first given out by the

upon the voice; but while Beethoven's great Mass is found difficult of execution, Cherubini's Mass in D minor 'is written throughout so agreeably for the voice, that it is always a pleasure to sing in it.' So a bass singer once informed me.
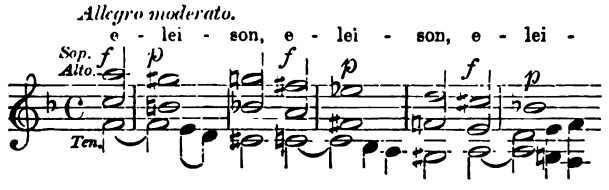


instruments alone. A number of grand chords in syncopation soon ensue, which, descending, lead to the voices, which enter on a repetition of the opening subject. The tone subsequently becomes agitated, reaching a climax in a short passage, re-



peated once, and to this succeed the descending harmonies leading to the opening phrase as before,

but here, without pause, we suddenly enter the second movement in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, which concludes with the above passage and an added bar and a half. After a rest, the third movement, *allegro moderato*, in common time begins. It is a fugue, and, once known, is a thing not to be forgotten; the gorgeous subject with its soft refrain, the undulation of sound, the pause in the middle of the movement, the solitary recommencement of the alto, the rising of the strains up to that thrilling, fearful, almost despairing cry,
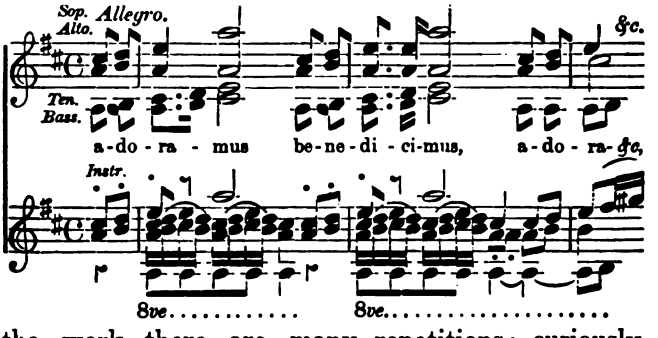


and then the heavenly calm that succeeds, expressing, if music can speak, a hope and trust in the mercy of God. After the beautiful refrain which has so often recurred, the violins alone are heard, descending chiefly at intervals of thirds, and then rising; the low murmur of 'Kyrie' succeeds unaccompanied; again the violins enter, and as the voices whisper a second time 'Kyrie,' the opening bar of the Kyrie is heard, and the orchestra is left to finish the movement, which ends characteristically, after a marked pause, with the common chord of D major.

In most composers' hands a fugue has been in-
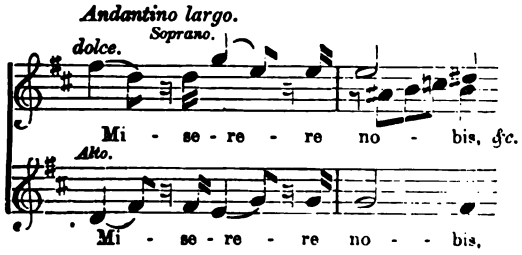
appropriate for a Kyrie. Cherubini either employs none at all, or else one of a character that will express the feeling of supplication; for he never lost sight of the fact that the Kyrie is a prayer for mercy. He has adapted the fugue to his purpose; whereas Mozart, Haydn, and even Hummel often give us joyful, triumphant strains, which appear to me somewhat out of place. Yet this almost perpetual joyfulness in Haydn and Mozart has a defence. It is their very fulness of heart that makes them see nothing but gladness in the Christian sacrifice. Cherubini, however, took a stricter view of what was appropriate.

The Gloria (895 bars) opens very brilliantly. In striking contrast to the sombre 'et in terra pax' is the exulting 'adoramus,' which is repeated again and again with electrifying effect. At this part of



the work there are many repetitions; curiously enough the 'laudamus' first occurring before the 'et

in terra pax' which precedes it in the text. The beauty of the 'Gratias agimus' steals upon the soul as it were by surprise. The tone is more elevated and pathetic at the 'Jesu Christe.' Then comes the very stately march of the 'qui tollis,' with its roar of accompaniment, in contrast to which is the expressive 'miserere:'
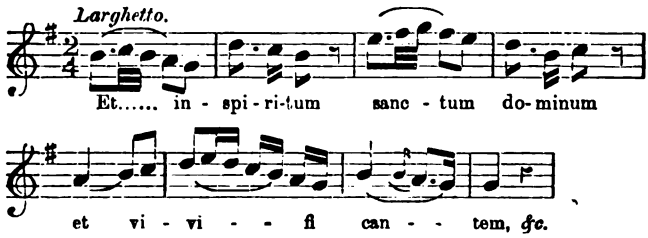


This exactly expresses in sound the sense of the words; no one can regret its recurrence. The melodious 'Quoniam' is succeeded by a slow affirmation of the closing words of the Gloria, before the final fugue on those words. This unusual device was anticipated by Haydn in the beautiful Gloria to his Fifth Mass; but here the theme is the subject of the final fugue, solemnly chanted.

The Credo (668 bars) opens hurriedly with the instruments in a chromatic passage, and then the word 'credo' breaks suddenly upon the ear, and is repeated at various intervals, a plan which Beethoven adopted eight years later in his Mass in D, not,
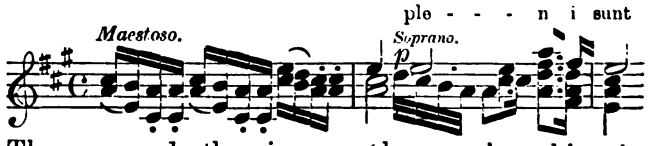
perhaps, very successfully. The danger here lies in upsetting the rhythm and flow of the music. Coming to the 'incarnatus,' it may be remarked, that both Mozart and Weber each in his Mass in G have set a good example to Haydn, Hummel, Beethoven, and Cherubini, in not repeating the words, 'et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Mariâ virgine, et Homo factus est,' over and over again. The 'incarnatus' is the most solemn part of the Credo, and while the above words are being sung every one kneels except the ministers, who bow with head uncovered. According to strict rule, this outward adoration lasts only during a single recitation of the above words. Thus either the adoration is over while soloists and chorus are taking their turn in successive repetitions of the sacred words, or else worshippers continue to kneel long after the proper time.

The 'Crucifixus' is a bold piece of workmanship, the voices singing in unison on one note E for 53 bars, while the violins, muted, wail in flowing accompaniment. The effect, with a ponderous bass, is terrible. At the 'Et in Spiritum' is the usual air, taken up by the voices in succession; but, contrary to custom, continued down to the final fugue. Hence a striking effect arises from the contrast between the tumultuous character of the first half of the Credo and the serene beauty of the second.

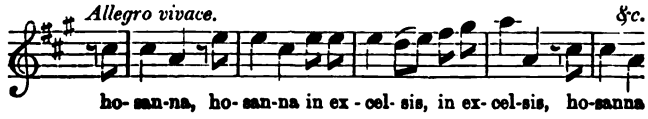


Towards the close of this most sweet strain, at the 'et vitam venturi,' the tone becomes more touching. The tearful effect of the tremolando in the accompaniment will be noticed. The masterly fugue 'Amen,' not, as usual, on the additional words 'et vitam venturi sæculi,' closes the Credo.
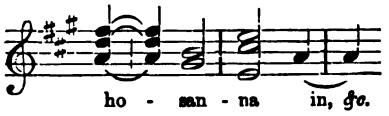
In the Sanctus, mentioned separately in Cherubini's catalogue, as having been composed in 1822, and substituted for the original Sanctus in the work. (66 bars), one of the most striking things in modern church-music, the ear is surprised, after the impressive opening, by the two high notes for the soprano heralded by the instruments.
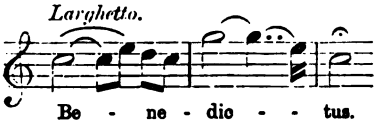


Then succeeds the vigorous 'hosanna,' reaching its climax at the jubilant cry,



followed on its repetition by a fine effect, the $\frac{3}{4}$ time of the movement being changed to the accent of common time:
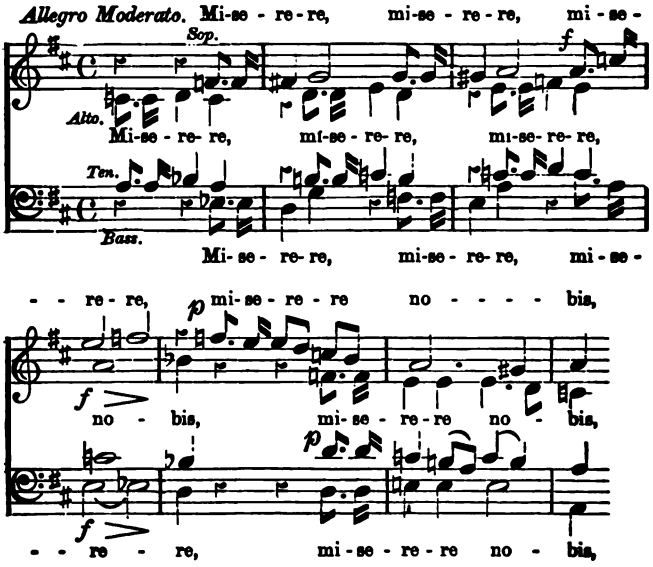


The Benedictus (130 bars) is a well-known and admired movement, with fine contrasts between solo and chorus with and without accompaniment, as in Beethoven's Benedictus in his Mass in C. After a short prelude, Cherubini makes the soprano enter alone on an inspiring phrase which forms the leading idea of the whole movement.

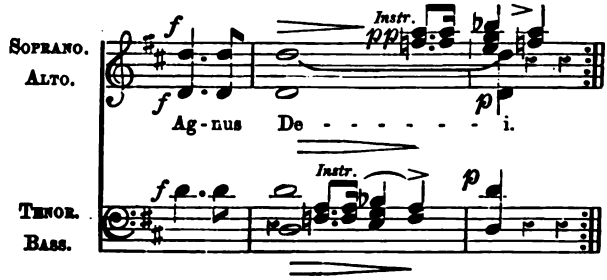


The Agnus Dei begins with a triumphant instrumental strain, but the beautiful replies between the voices are full of the most mournful pathos; the words expressing thoughts both of joy and sorrow. At the word 'miserere,' the voices glide away one after the other in imitation down the scale, suggesting the idea of a sinner's fear in the presence of his God, the whole part closing with a passage most expressive

of earnest supplication. Later on a striking effect is



produced by the reiterated burst of the words 'Agnus Dei,' which dies away to a whisper in the same bar; the weird tone of the instruments will be noticed.



This, repeated twice a third lower, is but another of

those wonderful effects by the simple means of *piano* and *forte* with which this great Mass is so full.

The 'dona nobis pacem' is a gentle melody, taken up by the voices in succession, until the 'Agnus Dei' breaks out, an example of intrusion on the 'dona' which is now almost invariably seen. But surely such intrusion is uncalled for, while unnecessarily detaining the service. However, Cherubini and some others may be defended. The prayer for peace begins in subdued tones, and then, as the emotion increases, the strain becomes more intense in the expressive earnestness of its supplication. But the plea for bringing in the drum, as in Beethoven's Mass in D, in order to contrast the horrors of war with the blessings of peace, is surely worth little.

In his Mass in C, Cherubini has left the 'dona nobis pacem' in undisturbed possession of the close of the Mass; a close which at any rate should be tranquil, and so it would be in the Mass in D minor, did not the instruments rush in *fortissimo* after the voices have died away.

CHAPTER III.

1811–1816.

Cherubini's *Les Abencérages*—The pasticcios *Bayard à Mezières* and *L'Oriflamme*—He visits London a second time, and composes for the Philharmonic Society—Returns to Paris—Honours received on the restoration of the Bourbons—Becomes the king's chapel-master on the death of Martini—The Mass in C—Requiem in C minor.

ABOUT this time (1811) Halévy became Cherubini's pupil for composition, obtaining from his master that grandeur and breadth which may be seen in 'La Juive.' He was taught by Méhul for a few months when Cherubini was temporarily absent.

Little is reported of Cherubini in 1812. He wrote his cantata, 'Pour la Goguette,' which was executed on the 16th December. He began, in January 1813, *Les Abencérages*, and which, on the 6th of April appeared at the Grand Opéra. The *bon-mots* of the talkers somewhat damaged its reputation, and an impression seemed to prevail that the composer had not done himself justice. Yet men of weight and influence in the Parisian musical world pronounced the work solid, and even finer and more laboured

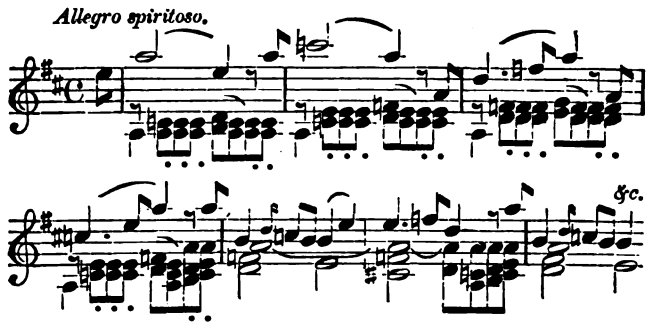
than the *Medea;* in brief, that there was nothing wanting. One Geoffroy spoke a good deal on the occasion, freely distributing both praise and blame.

Napoleon and the Empress were present at the performance, although it was the night before that departure for Germany which was to result in encounters with the Russians at Lützen and Bautzen.

Lafage states that *Les Abencérages* appeared in 1810! The action of the piece, written by Jouy, being uninteresting, the work did not succeed. Yet the overture, though at first it may seem hardly equal to Cherubini's high standard, has many features which render it deserving of admiration. The opening subject of the allegro is certainly not very striking, but we may note as characteristics worthy of the master the use made of it afterwards, and of the phrase:



which occurs first of all in the second bar, the vigorous theme that modulates into B flat, and subsequently into F and A minor, the wild weird effect of the chromatic passage that succeeds, and, above all, the beautiful melody heralded by the contest for supremacy between D sharp and D natural.



'His (Cherubini's) overture to *Les Abencérages*,' says F. W. H., in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine*, 'the least attractive of any he has written, still contains many indubitable proofs of the ability which may be found more fully displayed in the others. . . . There are several detached passages of sound modulation, several melodious streaks of light, the efforts of the sun endeavouring to emerge from the somewhat cloudy atmosphere in which it is involved; but yet, as a whole, it will satisfy neither the critic nor the amateur, who expect from the author of *Anacréon* something superior to those ephemeral productions which are performed in England, called English operas, and to which a very considerable portion of scraping and blowing is often appended by way of overture.'

But Schlüter justly says of this very overture, and those to *Anacréon*, *Lodoïska*, and *Medée*, that they 'are replete with vigour and character; their admirably drawn outline, exquisite finish and instrument-

ation cause them to be reckoned models of their kind.' Then, in the opera, there is the scena for Almanza, 'Suspendez à ces murs mes armes, ma bannière,' sung with such success at concerts, by Ponchard and Delsarte; and the two airs, 'Enfin j'ai vu naître l'aurore,' and 'Poursuis tes belles destinées;' the first of which three Denne-Baron considers 'one of the most beautiful things which dramatic music has to be proud of since Glück.' Many years afterwards Mendelssohn, in a letter to Moscheles, dated from Leipsic, Nov. 30, 1837, asked: 'Has Onslow written anything new? and old Cherubini? There's a matchless fellow! I've got his *Abencérages*, and cannot sufficiently admire the sparkling fire, the clever, original phrasing, the extraordinary delicacy and refinement with which the whole is written, or feel grateful enough to the grand old man for it. Besides, it is all so free, and bold, and spirited.' The success of the opera was marred in some degree by the disastrous tidings from Russia of the burning of Moscow, and the retreat of the French pursued by the Cossacks, when famine and disease did their work,—scenes that recall the poet's words on the lost traveller whom

> 'The deadly winter seizes; shuts up senses,
> And o'er his inmost vitals creeping cold,
> Lays him along the snows a stiffen'd corse,
> Stretch'd out and bleaching in the northern blast.'

The French Government saw the necessity of rousing the spirits and courage of the people in so much calamity, and the pasticcio of *Bayard à Mezières* appeared by order of the Duke of Rovigo on the 12th February 1813.

Cherubini, in his catalogue, gives this account of it: 'Cet opéra a été composé par ordre de la police; la musique est de MM. Catel, Boieldieu, Nicolo, et moi. Je n'ai composé pour ma part dans cet opéra qu'un trio, un morceau d'ensemble et le chant guerrier de la fin.'

Picchianti and Gamucci mention a chorus in the pasticcio of *L'Oriflamme*, as the work of Cherubini; but *L'Oriflamme* was composed by Méhul, Paër, Berton, and Kreutzer, and the chorus in question is not mentioned by Cherubini or Bottée de Toulman. Picchianti tells us that it is the only piece now remembered out of *Bayard* and *L'Oriflamme*, and that it contains surprising effects by means of *pianos* and *fortes*.

Subsequently, by special request, Cherubini wrote an air to couplets called a 'Chant guerrier,' inserted in a piece entitled *La Rançon de Duguesclin*, represented either in March or April, at the Théâtre Français. Then, very soon afterwards, we find him speaking of eight military compositions: 'All these pieces were composed for the use of the music of the Prussian

regiment commanded by Colonel Witzleben.' How plainly this tells of the unsettled period between 1814 and 1815! Then Cherubini wrote, in quick succession, two cantatas, one of which, given at a City of Paris fête, was performed before Napoleon, who at last, during the hundred days, conferred an honour on our composer in making him Chevalier of the Legion of Honour—not, however, as a composer, but as leader of the National Guards' band. 'Thus,' said Raoul Rochette, in his éloge on Cherubini before the Institute,—'thus did Napoleon still find means of being unjust towards M. Cherubini, even in doing him an act of justice.' Clément says that Louis XVIII. conferred this distinction on Cherubini; others give the date when it was conferred, 5th December 1814, which, if accurate, would make Clément's statement correct, for Napoleon was in Elba from May 1814 to March 1815; and although the Legion of Honour was a creation of his own, the order was confirmed by Louis XVIII. in April 1814. Best work of all in this year, Cherubini wrote his splendid Quartet in E flat, No. 1, which, however, was stowed away on the shelf until it was rescued from the dust and cobwebs by Baillot, in 1829.

In the March of 1815, Cherubini, whose reputation was second only to that of Beethoven, was again invited to London; this time by the Philharmonic

Society, then in the third year of its existence. He accepted the offer, and remained in England during nearly the whole of the hundred days. He directed the performance of his own compositions, receiving from the Society a liberal remuneration for his services. These compositions were:

1. An overture in G, begun in February at Paris, and finished in March in London.
2. A symphony in D, begun in March in London, and finished on the 24th of April.
3. A pastoral cantata for four voices, *Inno alla Primavera*, with full instrumental accompaniment, begun on the 8th of May in London, and finished on the 19th.

I have a letter in Italian from Cherubini without date, addressed to Mr. S. Vestri, 6 Rupert-street, Haymarket, and clearly written in 1815 in London —the subject-matter of which seems to refer to the above piece, set to Italian words:

'Friday.—Most-esteemed Signor Vestri,—Well, I shall expect your work to-morrow morning without fail. I hope you will do me the favour of coming to me, or of letting me know whether I am to go to you. I warn you that I shall be unable to wait longer for those words, as the Philharmonic concerts are going to conclude, and this piece must be ready for the last, which will be shortly. Believe me, as I have the pleasure of signing myself, your affectionate friend and servant, L. CHERUBINI.'

As for the overture and symphony, they failed, and were not again performed, giving also little satisfaction at Vienna. The symphony, as we shall see, was afterwards turned into a quartet, with a change of key to C, and a new adagio. There are few things more strange in musical history than that Cherubini, so great a master in the orchestra, should have failed in his one symphony. Some, however, may find consolation in a German opinion, thus expressed: 'The symphony is rich, well worked out, and nowhere marred by too much art, and recalls Haydn more than any one else, only that it is not so humorous, and is more imaginative.'[1]

On Cherubini's return in the end of the summer to Paris, the turn political events had taken is strikingly shown by his writing in August a chorus and couplets to St. Louis, and the couplets, 'Vive le Roi.' It is stated that one of these pieces in honour of the Bourbons was brought out in Germany, with translated text. The permanent restoration of the Bourbons, though depriving Cherubini for a time of his post at the Conservatoire, saved him from further injustice at Napoleon's hands. Honours flowed in upon him. In raising from three to six the number of musicians eligible for the Institute Louis XVIII. made him an

[1] *L. Cherubini*, p. 31.

Academician, while the chief Academies of Europe addressed him with the title of associate or correspondent. 'The walls of his office,' says Miel, 'were covered with honorary diplomas, which came to him from all parts.' He was member of the Musical Academy of Stockholm and of the Institute of Holland. And although the Conservatoire was at first suppressed as a creation of the Empire, it was reëstablished as the 'Ecole Royale de Musique' with Perne as inspector-general, and Cherubini, in April 1816, as professor of composition, simple inspectorships having been abolished. When, on the death of Martini in 1816, the post of musician and superintendent of the King's chapel, was offered by the King, through his first gentleman-in-waiting, to Cherubini, the latter, seeing that his acceptance of it would naturally entail the dismissal of Lesueur, who had held it with Martini under the former régime, replied, 'Monseigneur, Lesueur my friend is more worthy than I am of this high position. If I had not a young family to bring up, if I were rich, I should refuse it altogether; but if his Majesty is willing to allow me to share with Lesueur the superintendence of his music, I will accept it with thankfulness.' So Cherubini shared the office with Lesueur at a salary for himself of three thousand francs. Thus it was not till he was fifty-five years

of age that this great man ceased to be anxious about his livelihood. He and Lesueur took their turn at superintending the music every alternate three months, Lesueur's first term beginning in April 1816; Cherubini's on the 1st of July. The conductors, or 'maîtres,' as they were called, were Plantade and Valentino; the 'inspector' was Gregoire, the librarian Lefebvre, and the secretary Durais. In the choir there were three first and three second soprani; three tenors, among whom was Ponchard; three basses, including Levasseur. All these were solo singers; and for the chorus there were seven first and six second soprani, besides six boys for both first and second, twelve tenors, and ten basses. For the orchestra there were seven first violins, among whom were Baillot, leader, and Habeneck; seven second violins (Kreutzer, leader, and C. Habeneck), four violas (Tariot, leader), six violoncellos, four double basses, two flutes, two hautboys (Brod one of them), two clarinets, two trombones, two bassoons, three 'cors,' two harps, and one drum. There were also two pianists and two organists. Such is a brief account of this perfect choir, whose equal perhaps no other place in Europe could then show. I have forgotten, however, the organ-blower, whose name was Hottin, and who, I suspect, is the same individual

whom we shall come across at a later period of the narrative, in connection with Berlioz.

Of the music of the King's chapel, Fétis says: 'The ordinary service of the chapel of the Kings Louis XVIII. and Charles X. consisted of a Low Mass occupying at most half an hour, during which musicians sang various pieces, the whole duration of which was not allowed to be longer than the Mass said by the priest. This necessity was new to Cherubini, whose genius was prone to long developments. It was not without effort that he contrived to compress his ideas within such straitened limits; but his prodigious skill came in to surmount all obstacles, and each of the pieces that issued from his pen for the service of the chapel during the succeeding fourteen years excited the admiration of artists.

'The conditions of which I have just spoken explain the shortness of the Masses Nos. 174, 196, 202, 211 in the catalogue of his works, and No. 8 in the supplement, on comparing them with the solemn Masses in F and D minor. An entire Mass was rarely executed at the King's chapel; often the whole duration of the service was taken up by a Kyrie, followed by a motet. It is thus that you remark thirteen Kyries which do not appertain to the scores of whole Masses, two Glorias, a Credo, nine O Salutaris, two Sanctuses, two Agnus Deis, two

complete Litanies of the Virgin, two Pater nosters, two Tantum ergos, lastly, seventeen different motets more or less developed.'[2] Miel says, speaking of Cherubini and the King's chapel, 'Ses messes ont triomphé, mais *con sordini*, dans la chapelle de Louis XVIII et de Charles X, réduit étroit où se pressaient les courtisans, et dont on fermait les portes sur une trentaine de provinciaux qui avaient loué des culottes de père-noble chez Babin, pour profiter de la carte d'éntrée qu'un député leur avait fait obtenir.'[3]

The year 1816 was quite the busiest of Cherubini's life, and he studied deeply Palestrina as well as Clari, Marcello, and Jomelli's works. On the 29th of January he began, and on the 30th finished, a cantata with soli, chorus, and grand orchestra, for the banquet given by the Royal Guard to the National Guards and Body Guards at the Louvre Gallery, and which was executed in the presence of the King and the Royal Family. In January also was begun, and on the 4th March following finished, the third Mass in C, for four, five, and six voices and chorus, planned indeed on a less-extended scale than the first and second Masses in F and D minor, yet not less effective and captivating, and more suitable for ordinary ecclesiastical purposes. Girod states that

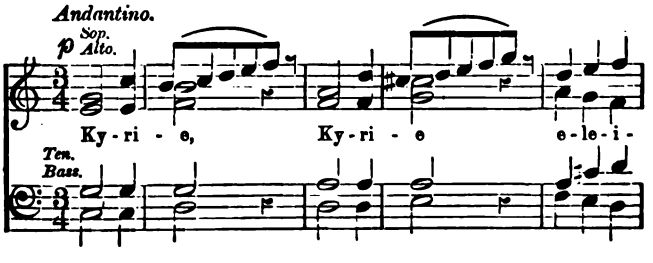
[2] *Biog. Univ.* vol. ii. p. 270.

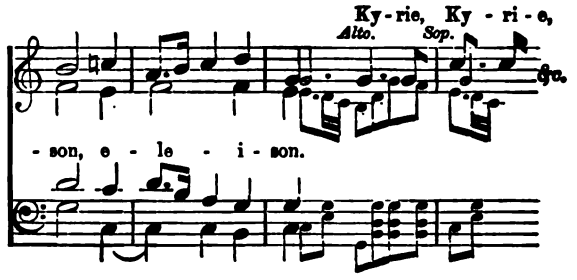
[3] *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*, vol. xiii. p. 543.

he knows some musicians who prefer it to the other Masses of Cherubini. 'We find in it,' he says, 'striking contrasts in the Gloria and Credo between the quartet and the general chorus, and the two quartets of soprani and men's voices. Less grand than the Coronation Mass, there is more unction felt in it; it is a tissue of melodic beauties united to a consummate perfection in the details of the vocal and instrumental parts. It is a music full of life, of piety and learning.' Little further has been said of this Mass, and as I have frequently availed myself of opportunities of hearing parts of it, I would wish, in no presumptuous spirit, to offer upon it a few remarks.

In Cherubini's Mass in C we seem to trace the influence of Beethoven's Mass in C, written six years previously. At times the form is almost identical.

The Kyrie (133 bars), in one movement only, after a short introduction and recitative, usually, I believe, left out, opens with the following melodious theme, taken up by the voices, and carried forward by the instruments.
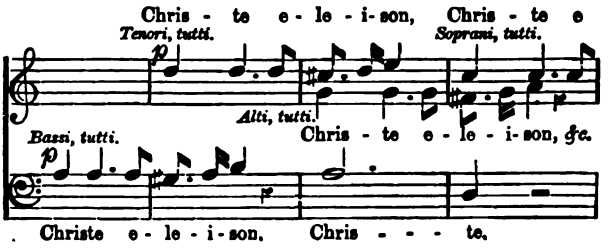




The figure in the accompaniment that follows



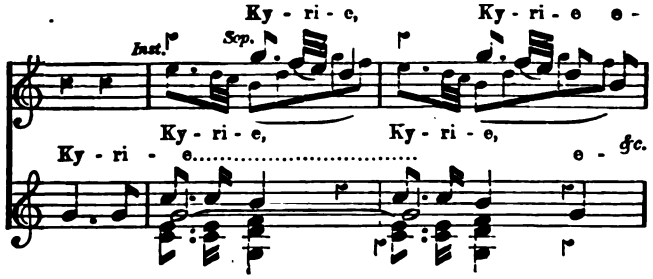
is the first appearance of what is made so much of in this Kyrie; it is almost as prominent as that phrase



in the Pastoral Symphony of Beethoven. Much is made out of little. Thus, after the simple yet grand subject beginning in canon at the 'Christe,' the soprano takes up that figure (before half hidden
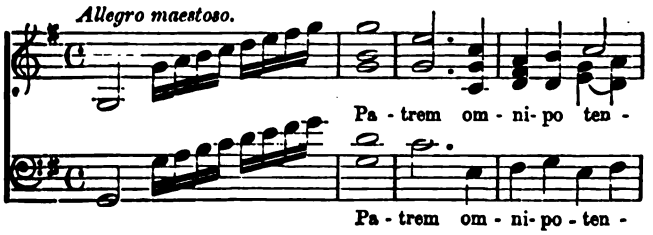


in the instrumentation), and, supported by the full chorus and bass solo, brings it forth with enthralling effect, the orchestra persistently repeating the phrase
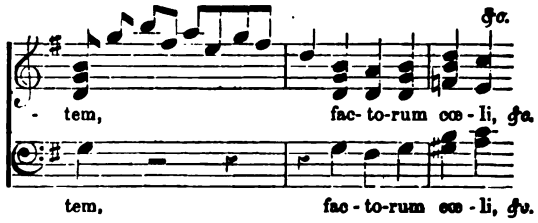


in advance on the first beat of the bar. The movement ends on a pedal point C, with the subject in canon already noticed. When the voices have died away, a few solemn chords are heard, and then the orchestra subsides into silence.
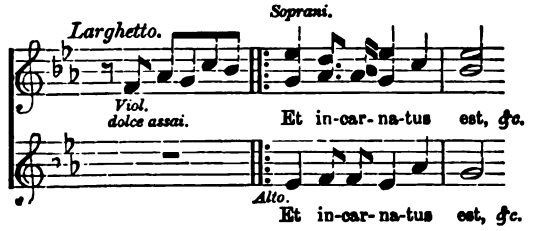
Of the Gloria (279 bars), I am not in a position to speak at any length. A second bass part, which here and there occurs, makes it an inconvenient piece for many choirs.

The Credo for five voices (348 bars) opens as spontaneously and melodiously as possible; but not
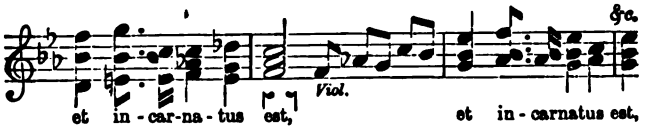




repeating the words intoned by the celebrant. After a movement of wonderful freedom and power, we arrive at the 'incarnatus,' which opens with a strain of exquisite beauty for soprani and alto, and, after
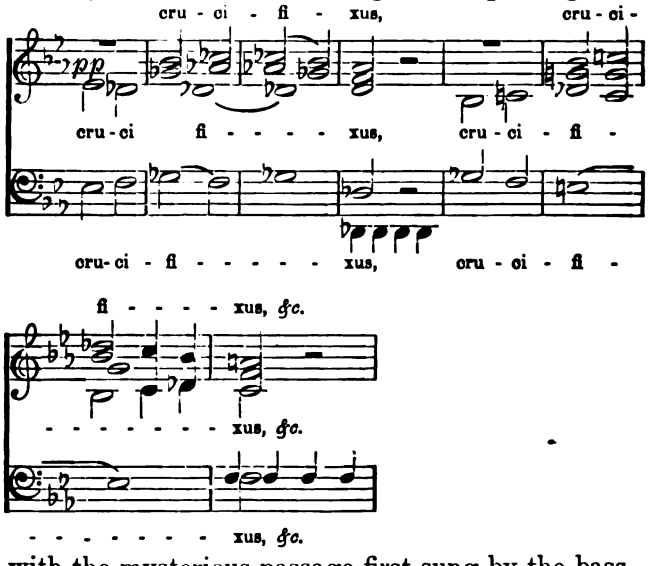


the reply of the bass and tenor, becomes still more

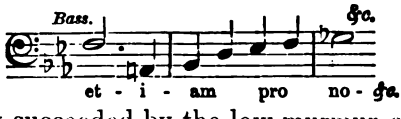


elevated. The light and airy tones of the soprano and alto are thrown into strong relief by the sombre responses of the bass and tenor, which being pitched low have a somewhat heavy effect. It might be thought that so heavenly a theme would have been at no disadvantage if it had been entirely given to the soprano and alto. The severe taste, however,
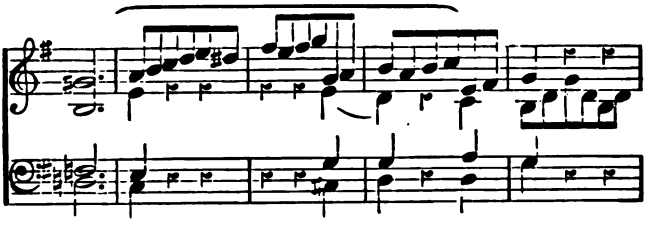
of Cherubini no doubt approved of the balance of the parts, and the contrast thereby effected. The 'Crucifixus,' from the first entry of tenor and bass in contrary motion, is awe-striking in its depth of gloom.
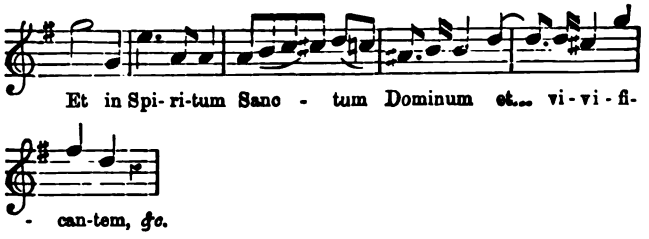


with the mysterious passage first sung by the bass,
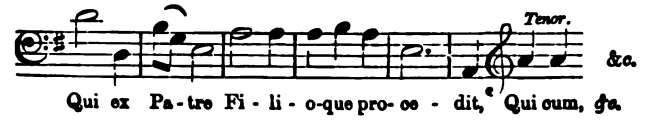


eventually succeeded by the low murmur of the 'sepultus est.' Then follows the triumphant 'et resurrexit,' and after the 'cujus regni non erit finis' is chanted for eight bars in unison on the note G, the violins sound G sharp, and the 'et in spiritum,' sweetly preluded by the instruments, follows, with-
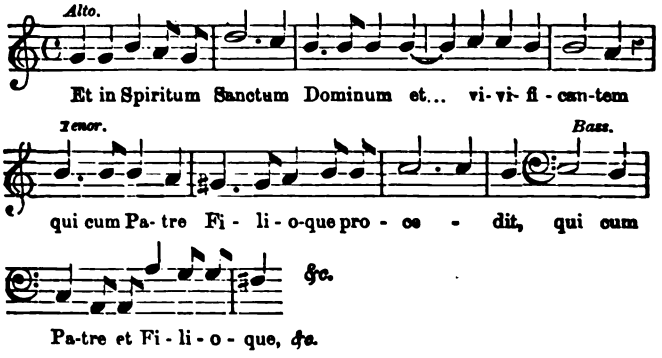


out there being any pause or change of time from the 'et resurrexit.' This portion will deserve attention, not only for its intrinsic merits, but also as a signal illustration of the general character of solos among the later writers of church-music, in being neither lengthy nor monopolised by one voice. Mozart's Masses tend to excite a jealousy in the choir; Cherubini's please all the singers. With a flowing accompaniment in the character of the above extract, the soprano begins,
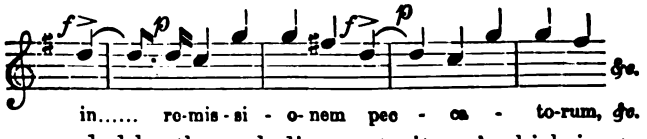


and then the bass takes up the air, followed by the tenor.
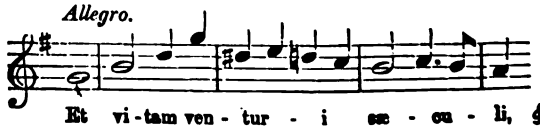


So is it with 'et in Spiritum' of the Mass in C of Beethoven, the alto leading.
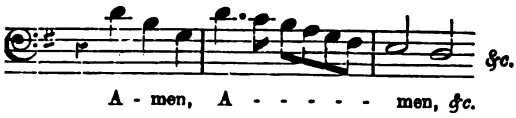


Haydn and Mozart generally go through the whole part, from the 'et resurrexit' to the 'et vitam,' in chorus; but the later writers often treat the portion with solos and chorus intermingled, for the sake of contrast. The words 'et unam sanctam,' &c., in Cherubini's Mass, are sung in unison, as in Beethoven's, the harmony here bursting forth at 'ecclesiam,' and with Beethoven at 'confiteor.' Very natural is the 'in remissionem;'
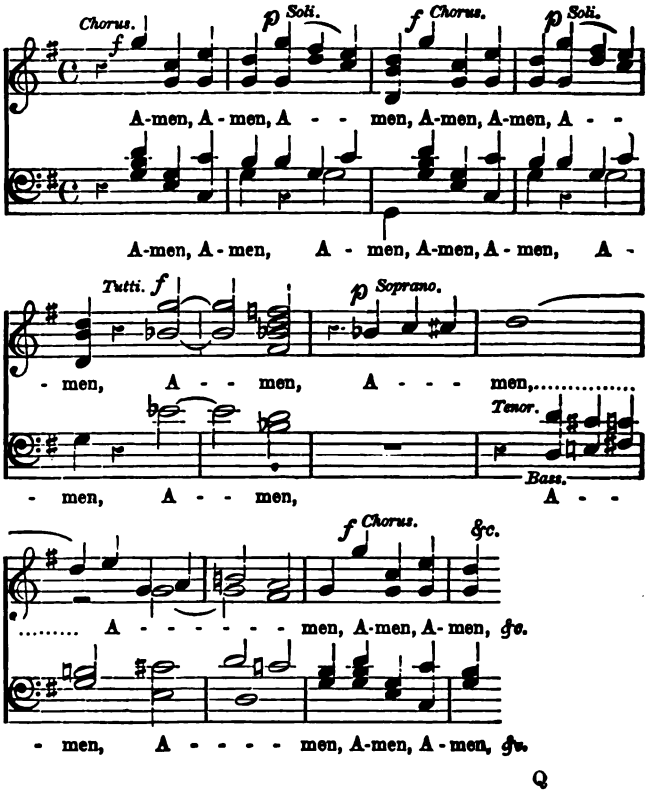


succeeded by the melodious 'et vitam;' which is at



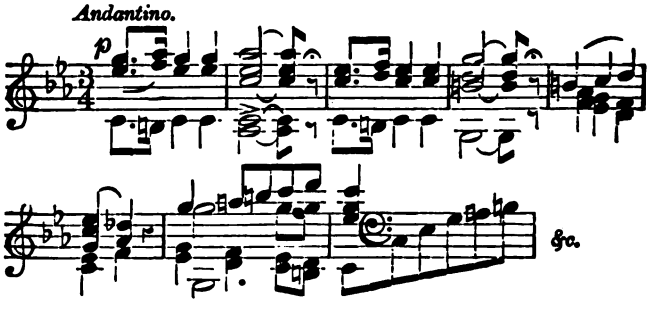
once followed by a short subject in fugue, skilfully
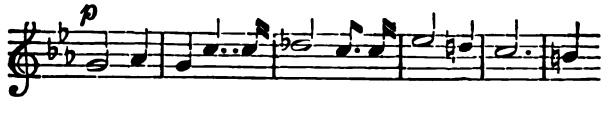


contrasted with the calm 'et vitam.' But at the close of the Credo a magnificent passage suddenly appears to surprise and delight the ear, while to
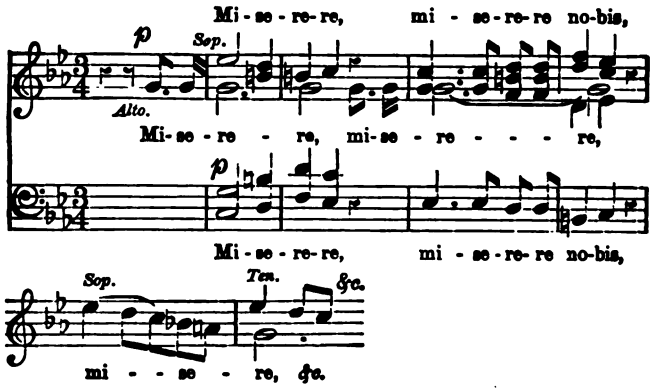


the close there is no flagging of spirit. The fugue returns, and to avoid the sudden Amen and stop (so to speak) so common in Haydn and Mozart, Cherubini ends, as often elsewhere, with a descent of the gamut. The whole of this Credo is hardly a less free and bold setting of the words than Beethoven's first Credo for the instruments. Unwillingly I pass over the offertory, Laudate Dominum, the Sanctus, and O Salutaris, and come to the Agnus Dei (158 bars), where, if the expression may be used, the beautiful surprise at the seventh bar of the instrumental intro-
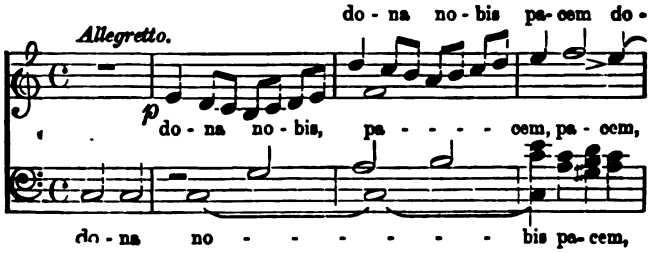


duction will never be forgotten after having been once heard. All the voices now enter in unison on a
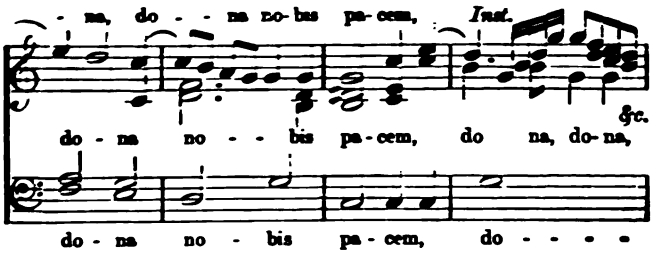


stately subject; in marked contrast to this is the Miserere. It is noticeable that the present Agnus Dei



is a kind of miniature in form of that in the D minor Mass, since in both there is an opening instrumental prelude which is repeated between each enunciation of Agnus Dei, &c., as well as a descent of the voices in imitation, at the words 'miserere nobis.' Quite different, however, is the 'dona nobis pacem' in the present Mass, which is left in undisturbed beauty, with all its delightful imitative passages. How sweet and fresh it is, and how solemn and calm the close! The whole work is a unique creation of its





author. Cherubini never wrote anything more thoroughly spontaneous.

Next to the Mass in C must be mentioned the well-known Pater noster for four voices. M. Girod says: 'The Pater noster is a grave supplication, where the melody is severe and expressive; its beauty is heightened by ingenious details. It ends with a dramatic "libera nos," of a rhythm vigorous and full of energy.' Of the O Salutaris for contralto solo he says, that the melody 'is highly censured, though its musical texture is concise.' Of two other works of this period, he remarks: 'The Lauda Sion for two soprani has a very pronounced rhythm; it has some amenity and charm, except in one or two melodies of rather an antiquated style. The same can be said of the Sanctus O Salutaris, written for a tenor solo; it is holy and contemplative, but its melody is at times too spiritless, or a little common. The Ecce Panis, a solo for tenor or soprano, is more novel and more melodious. In these three pieces, as in all Cherubini's works, there

are always remarkable beauties that reveal the great master's genius. You are especially impressed by the charm of transitions which constantly bring back with felicity the chief *motivo.*' Of the well-known Ave Maria, also written at this time, Girod observes: 'There is everything that is touching, lovely, and loving in the prayer.' Schlüter calls it 'a piece of vanity and affectation;' but an instance is recorded how its merits can grow upon its hearers. It was performed three times at St. Michael's College, Fribourg. At the first performance it made little or no impression. At the second, a few months later, it was generally admired. At the third, the emotion of every listener might be discerned. An interesting story is told by Professor Ella, either of one of these pieces or some Offertory by Cherubini, written for a grand religious festival. On the eve of its performance, Cherubini was informed that the chief tenor who was to sing in it was ill; so, early the next morning Begrez, a Belgian, then only a violinist, received the music of the tenor's part with a request that he would learn it, so as to be able to sing it before noon at the festival. The violinist besought to be dispensed from this heavy responsibility, for at the most he was but an amateur singer. Cherubini, however, was peremptory, and assured Begrez that he had the highest trust in his musical intelligence.

Begrez sang in the part, and so well, as to make a deep impression on his hearers. When the service was over, Cherubini ran to the front of the choir and embraced Begrez. This unexpected success led the latter to abandon the violin and take to singing, and he became first tenor at her Majesty's Theatre in this country.[4] Besides the foregoing sacred works of Cherubini, there appeared, in 1816, the second Cantata, entitled 'The Marriage of Solomon,' performed for the first time on the 17th of June at the royal banquet at the Tuileries that celebrated the marriage of the Duc de Berri and Princess Charlotte of Naples. And then, lastly, in this eventful year of 1816 the first Requiem in C minor was written for the anniversary of King Louis XVI.'s death, and first performed on the 21st of January 1817, at the Abbey Church of St. Denis. It was repeated on the 14th of February (not, as Castil-Blaze states, March) 1820, at St. Denis, for the obsequies of the Duke of Berri, murdered on the 13th of the same month.[5] On this occasion sixteen singers and seventeen instrumentalists joined the chapel choir, and Castil-Blaze tells us that he never knew the work produce such effect as it did on this occasion. Arnold errs in

[4] Ella's *Musical Sketches.*

[5] Mendelssohn, in a letter to Rebecca Dirichlet, Berlin, dated from Dusseldorf, Nov. 28, 1834, speaks of conducting Cherubini's Requiem in C minor himself.

stating that the Requiem was brought out in 1818 at the Abbey of St. Denis for Méhul's obsequies. Méhul died in 1817 at Hyères. Arnold adds that the work was printed in Paris in 1819. Elsewhere he falls into the error of supposing that it was brought out by subscription in 1809. Halévy wrote a De Profundis, for full orchestra, for the occasion of the anniversary, and dedicated it to Cherubini. Léon Halévy, in his memoir of his brother, mentions a De Profundis as having been dedicated by Halévy to Cherubini in 1827.

'The Requiem Mass in C minor,' says Berlioz, 'is on the whole, to my mind, the greatest work of its author. No other production of this grand master can bear any comparison with it, for abundance of idea, fulness of form, and sustained sublimity of style. The Agnus Dei in *decrescendo* surpasses everything that has ever been written of the kind. The workmanship of this portion, too, has an inestimable value; the vocal style is sharp and clear, the instrumentation coloured and powerful, yet ever worthy of its object.'

The *Monthly Musical Record*, speaking of Bach's Matthäus-Passion, and Cherubini's C minor Requiem, observes: 'Both works are incomparable master-works; both have been produced by, and are filled with, true faithful religious feeling, and

yet they are thoroughly different in character. Whilst to us the Matthäus-Passion has always appeared as the most deeply felt and most important communication of true German art in the field of Protestant church-music, we may call Cherubini's Requiem the greatest work of Italian Catholicism. It is impossible to compare the two works with each other. Produced in different periods of the art, they show in style and expression the greatest difference; and only in one thing are they alike — that both will make the deepest impression on every mind. Both works are treated in the polyphonic style, but how different is the counterpoint! Bach's, in its many harshnesses, expressing the severe ascetic devotion of the Protestant religion of his time, compared to the soft Italian, always well-sounding, flowing melodies of Cherubini. . . . If we first consider the colouring which is given to the Requiem by the orchestral accompaniment, the few accompanying instruments give an almost invariable tone of mourning, which is only changed in the Dies Iræ, and in the Sanctus. Bach, on the other hand, makes use, besides the orchestra, of the obbligato organ, as well with its soft stops as with its full power, according to secondary purpose or else for mighty effects. The manifold dramatic element given by the text of

Bach's choruses, which is to be found not only in short choruses, but also in more extended movements, is missing in Cherubini altogether. Even in the Dies Iræ, the broadest movement of the Requiem, it is not to be found, although the words might have offered the idea of it. Throughout the work, only the four-part chorus appears as the sole supporter of the whole contents, to which the instruments are almost always entirely subordinate. Nowhere does a solo voice or an instrument appear with any particular individuality. At the same time, every movement is built up in broad forms, and gives in large traits the character of the whole. The contrapuntal style in the Requiem produces many peculiar effects; for instance, the two-part canonic leading of the voices in the beginning of the Dies Iræ creates the impression of the deepest fear, the most frightful consternation, whilst the old Italian manner of the appearance of the four voices one after another in every bar—as, for instance, in the first movement at the words "te decet hymnus," "exaudi et lux perpetua,"—produces charming and expressive harmonic changes. Quite wonderful is the variety and the acceleration in expression of the most devotional praying, the prostration full of pain at the words "salva me fons pietatis," and "voca me cum benedictis." The touching expression of the

deepest abasement at the words "oro supplex et acclinis" is followed by "lacrymosa dies illa." Still more elevated is the feeling in the touching prayer in the "Pie Jesu," and at the last "dona eis requiem."'

'Though the style of the whole work, as above remarked, is throughout polyphonic, the Requiem contains only one fugue; this also is, in its way, quite unlike the style of Bach's fugue-writing. The fugue in the Requiem to the words 'quam olim Abrahæ promisisti, et semini ejus,' is founded on three themes which always fit in the purest consonance. In a very peculiar manner the impression of the fullest confidence in the Atonement is produced by the repeated entrance of the parts in consonances.'[6]

[6] *Monthly Musical Record*, vol. ii. 1872, p. 71.

CHAPTER IV.

1816–1822.

The *Iste Dies* and *Regina Cœli*—The *Hymn to Bacchus*—The Coronation Mass in G—Spohr in Paris: his intercourse with Cherubini—Moscheles—*Blanche de Provence* for the Duke of Bordeaux's baptism at Notre Dame—Its performance at the Court Theatre—Cantata at the Hôtel de Ville—Resignation of Perne as Director of the Conservatoire—Cherubini appointed in his stead—His rule—His character.

CHERUBINI'S labours in the composition of church-music had been well begun in 1816 by the creation of so many works now famous. His post as the King's chapel-master drew his attention almost entirely to sacred music, and his genius surely found in the liturgy a nobler subject for illustration than the libretto, and especially such librettos as he had generally been given.

Of the Iste Dies, composed in 1817, and added to the O Sacrum Convivium, written in 1816, Girod observes: 'The solemnity of this music renders it well fit for a grand Benediction, such as that on Easter-day; after a grand opening comes a very ex-

pressive bass solo, followed by the refrain of the chorus, "Buccinate tuba." What with the calmness and suavity of the march, the O Sacrum in C minor contrasts admirably with what precedes and follows it. The close is a tuneful fugue, full of brilliancy. To this piece is joined an Ave verum for three equal voices, of a soothing character, concise and graceful.' And, speaking of another work of this year, the same author adds: 'The Tantum ergo for five voices is original and poetical, but it has not the character of fervour and solemnity which the last piece for Benediction usually requires. On the whole it produces little effect.' And of a famous work of the year 1818 he remarks: 'The Regina Cœli has not been published in France, where the composer has printed his other religious pieces; yet, apart from the style, which has the touch of the illustrious artist, the origin of this beautiful piece is not doubtful. Cherubini mentions it in a note printed at the end of one of his motets. It is incontestibly the most beautiful piece of its kind, and a magnificent ovation to the Queen of Heaven. It has its difficulties, like all the author's music, but it demands special attention to obtain an ensemble and proper precision.' A Mass in E, as yet unpublished, was also written in 1818.

'There is only praise,' says Girod, 'to be awarded

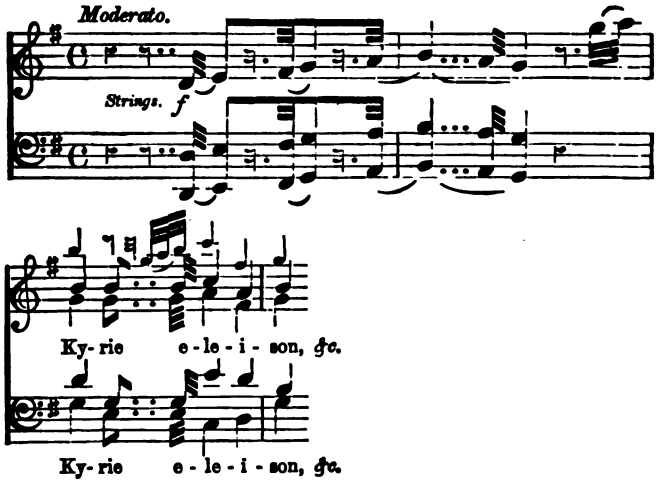
to that essentially religious piece, the delicious quartet of Adjutor et Susceptor; it is felicitously tinged with a sweet gravity and a firm and well-marked vigour. The 'Benedicta tu in mulieres,' written for soprano, tenor, and bass, with organ accompaniment, is a charming trio, in which you distinguish a melody full of unction, and fresh and novel modulation.'[1]

In 1818 Cherubini visited Malabri. Of his Hymn to Bacchus, composed April 21st in this year, Miel observes: 'It becomes, on his lyre, the noblest of drinking songs. In this same year, 1819, we have the first Coronation Mass in G, for four voices, written for and executed at the crowning of Louis XVIII., who now conferred on Cherubini, the title of Chevalier of the Order of St. Michael.'
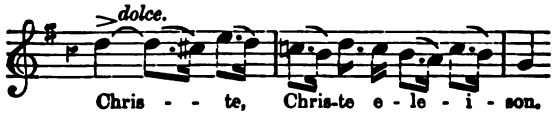
To the best of my belief this Mass is little, if at all, known in England, having been seemingly eclipsed by its rival, the second Coronation Mass. Yet it is written in the same broad free style as that masterpiece, a style which has little in common with that of the D minor Mass, reminding us more of Haydn than of Beethoven. But how different from Haydn!

The Kyrie (101 bars) opens with a vigorous subject,
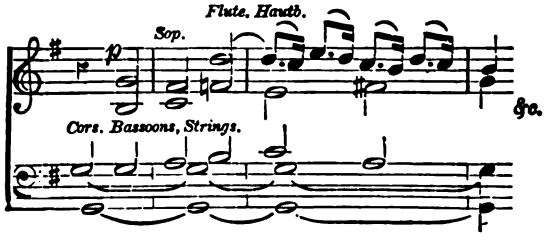
[1] *De la Musique Religieuse.*



which affords a striking contrast to the melodious theme at the 'Christe,' given out by the soprano,



accompanied in unison by the flutes, hautboys, and bassoons. The whole movement is well-nigh entirely the working out of these two *motivi*. Towards the close a pedal point is reached, with a reminiscence of the second subject,



while voices and instruments blend together in this sweet subdued strain of hope; the tenor, with the violoncellos and bassoons, on a repetition, taking up the melody, while the voices sing the sustained harmonies with enchanting effect. Who, indeed, will have the heart to say that Cherubini is dry, in face of the Kyrie of the Coronation Mass in G?

The Gloria (503 bars) opens with the wind instruments ('majestueusement mais sans lenteur'), which sound forth in succession the notes of the common chord of C, and a few bars on we come to a brilliant passage,



which heralds in the basses chanting the opening bars of the Gloria, and subsequently plays a conspicuous part throughout the piece. The jubilant 'laudamus' is a simple but striking feature in the movement; then succeeds the 'adoramus,' ushered in by the violoncellos *pianissimo*. There are the usual repetitions, followed by the 'qui tollis,' which is short; while the 'Quoniam,' after the example of many of Haydn's and Mozart's Masses, is the same as the opening of the Gloria. A novel procedure in the final fugue, 'cum Sancto Spiritu,' is the intro-

duction of the 'Quoniam.' It is common enough with Cherubini to bring in the opening *motivo* and words of the Gloria in his codas, as he does in the Mass in F, but I remember no other instance of the 'Quoniam tu solus' being introduced.

The whole of the first part of the Credo (435 bars) down to the 'incarnatus' is sung piano in two-part unisonal canon, while at the 'et in Spiritum' we have, I suppose, the almost unexampled procedure of the repetition of nearly the whole of the opening of the Credo. The 'incarnatus' has hardly any repetitions, which is commendable, for reasons already given. A masterly fugue 'et vitam,' with a sublime coda, closes the Credo.

The Sanctus (105 bars) is remarkable as having no pause or break before either the 'pleni sunt' or the 'Hosanna.' The words 'benedictus qui venit,' &c., and the O Salutaris, which last so often takes the place of the separate movement Benedictus, are all included in the Sanctus, so that the piece must go on through the Elevation, the most solemn part of the Mass, when all is generally silence, except in France and Italy, where the organ is often played. To the elevated beauties of the Agnus Dei (61 bars), with its flowing accompaniments, every musician will bear testimony.

In 1820, Arnold states, Cherubini betook himself

to one Biolti for a new opera—what opera we are not told. In the same year Spohr came to Paris. In a letter to a friend, dated from Paris, Dec. 15, 1820, he writes: 'With a beating heart I drove through the Barrière of Paris. The thought that I should at length have the pleasure of making the personal acquaintance of the artistes whose works had inspired me in my early childhood excited the emotion which I then felt. In fancy I reverted to the days of my boyhood, in which my idol was Cherubini, whose works I had had an earlier opportunity of becoming acquainted with in Brunswick, at the then permanent French theatre there, than even the works of Mozart.... The author, and many other men whose works had exercised the most decided influence on my development as a composer and violinist, I was now soon to behold.... I was told of Cherubini, that he was at first very reserved toward strangers, even repulsive. I did not find him so. He received me without any letter of introduction, in the most friendly manner, and invited me to repeat my visit as often as I pleased.'[2] Kreutzer takes Spohr on the evening of his arrival in Paris to the Grand Opera, which leads Spohr to exclaim: 'Is it a subject for praise or blame, that the French, notwithstanding the many excellent things with which their operatic

[2] Spohr's *Autobiography*, vol. ii. p. 107.

répertoire has been enriched during the last twenty years, still give the oldest things of all? And is it indeed a proof of an advanced cultivated taste for art, when one sees them give as enthusiastic a reception (if not more so) to the oldest operas of Grétry, with their poverty of harmony and incorrectness, as to the masterpieces of Cherubini and Méhul? I think not.' Again he says, in a second letter dated from Paris, Dec. 31: 'The masses, the leaders of the fashion here, positively know not how to distinguish the worst from the best; they hear *Le Jugement de Midas* with the same rapture that they listen to *Les Deux Journées* or *Joseph*. It requires no long residence here, to adopt the frequently expressed opinion, that the French are not a musical nation.' Altogether Spohr seems to have liked Paris as little as Glück, Mozart, or Mendelssohn. In a third letter, dated from Paris, Jan. 12, 1821, he says: 'You are, doubtless, astonished that I have as yet said nothing of the music of the royal chapel, but I delayed doing so intentionally, until I had first heard some of Cherubini's Masses. Lesueur and Cherubini, the two directors of the music of the royal chapel, assume the duties of their office every three months alternately; our arrival took place during the time of Lesueur's directorship, and Cherubini's did not begin till the 1st January. But the musical directors of the royal

chapel do not conduct the music themselves, and preside only in their court uniform at the head of the vocal *personnel*, without taking any active part in the performance. The director *de facto* is Plantade; Kreutzer, the leading player of the first violin; and Baillot, of the second. The orchestra is composed of the first artistes in Paris, the chorus is powerful and good. Every Mass is rehearsed once or twice, and under Plantade's sure and spirited direction every thing goes exceedingly well. To these letters regarding my sojourn in Paris,' adds Spohr, 'I have yet to add some few things from recollection. From the frequent opportunities I had of playing before Cherubini, at private parties, I conceived a very ardent desire to have all my quartets and quintets, so far as I thought them worthy of it, heard by that master so highly esteemed by me, and to introduce them by degrees to his notice, in order to ask his opinion of them. But in this I succeeded with very few only; for when Cherubini had heard the first quartet (No. 1 of the Op. 45, written at Frankfort), and I was on the point of producing a second, he protested against it, and said: "Your music, and indeed the form and style of this kind of music, is as yet so foreign to me, that I cannot find myself immediately at home with it, nor follow it properly; I would therefore much prefer that you repeated the

quartet you have just played." I was very much astonished at this remark, and did not understand it until I afterwards ascertained that Cherubini was quite unacquainted with the German masterpieces of this kind—of Mozart and Beethoven—and, at the utmost, had once heard a quartet by Haydn at Baillot's soirées. As the other persons present coincided with Cherubini's wish, I consented the more readily, as in the first execution of it some things had not gone altogether well. He now spoke very favourably of my composition, praised its form, its thematic working out, the rich change in the harmonies, and particularly the *fugato* in the last subject. But as there were still many things not quite clear to him in the music, he begged me to repeat it again when we should next meet. I hoped he would think nothing more about it, and therefore at the next music party brought forward another quartet. Before I could begin, however, Cherubini renewed his request, and I was therefore obliged to play the same quartet a third time. The same thing occurred also with No. 2 of Op. 45, excepting that he spoke of it with more decisive praise; and said of the adagio: "It is the finest I ever heard." He was equally pleased with my pianoforte quintet, with the concerted accompaniment of wind instruments, and I was frequently obliged to play it on that account. The first

time, my wife played the piano part; but when Moscheles subsequently requested permission to study and to play it once, she had not the courage to play it any more in Paris after him. He remained, therefore, in possession, and entered more and more into the spirit of the composition. He executed the two allegro subjects, especially, with far more energy and style, which certainly increased their effect. As the wind instruments of Reicha's quintet were excellent, I never recollect to have heard that quintet so perfectly rendered as then.' How it raises our estimation of Cherubini's quartet in E flat, written in 1819, to be told that in 1821 he knew nothing of the quartets of Mozart and Beethoven! Moscheles was in Paris at this time, and tells us that he met Spohr there. He says: 'At Baillot's house, who had got up for Spohr and myself a genuine soirée of artistes, he was greeted with real enthusiasm. I also played and improvised. He played, I played, and we each shared in a brotherly way the applause of this select audience.' Mdme. Moscheles adds: 'Applause in this instance means no ordinary recognition.' It appears that there were present Cherubini, Boieldieu, Auber, Hérold, Adam, Lesueur, Pacini, Paër, Mazas, Habeneck, Plantade, Blangini, Lafont, Pleyel, Ivan, Müller, Struntz, Viotti, Ponchard, Pellegrini, Nadermann, Garcia, Martinville, Mangin, Bertin, Schlesinger, Lemoine, Pape,

Petzold, Erard, Freudenthaler, the brothers Bohrer, and others.

Moscheles writes in his diary for the 28th January 1821: 'At 11 A.M. I rehearsed at Paër's with Baillot for this evening; then I went, or rather ran, with him, at full speed, to the court chapel in the Tuileries, where we heard a glorious Mass by Cherubini, admirably performed, as might be expected with the coöperation of such men as Kreutzer, Baillot, Habeneck. Plantade directed, and Cherubini, who talked to me, was among the audience.' On the 20th March, he writes: 'I spent the evening at Ciceri's, son-in-law of Isabey, the famous painter, where I was introduced to one of the most interesting circles of artists. In the first room were assembled the most famous painters, engaged in drawing several things for their own amusement. In the midst of these was Cherubini, also drawing. I had the honour, like every one newly introduced, of having my portrait taken in caricature. Begassé took me in hand, and succeeded well. In an adjoining room were musicians and actors, amongst them Ponchard, Levasseur, Dugazon, Panseron, Mdlle. de Munk, and Madame Livère, of the Théâtre Français. The most interesting of their performances, which I attended merely as a listener, was a vocal quartet by Cherubini, performed under his direction. Later in

the evening, the whole party armed itself with larger or smaller *mirlitons* (reed-pipe whistles), and on these small monotonous instruments, sometimes made of sugar, they played, after the fashion of Russian horn music, the overture to *Démophon*, two frying-pans representing the drums. On the 27th March there was another *mirliton* concert at Ciceri's, in which Cherubini took an active part.'[3]

In 1821 appeared the one-act allegorical opera of *Blanche de Provence*, divided into three parts, and written by Berton, Boieldieu, Kreutzer, Paër, and Cherubini, the latter composing all the third part. He tells us, 'This opera was ordered by the Minister of the King's Household, on the occasion of the baptism of the Duke of Bordeaux, which took place the 1st May 1821, at Notre Dame. The first representation of *Blanche* took place in the evening at the court theatre; the second on the 3d of the same month at the Royal Academy of Music, for which this opera had been composed.' On May 21st it was again performed at the Grand Opera. The libretto was by Théaulon and Rancé. All that has survived of this work is Cherubini's chorus, the lovely Cradle Song (the words by Berquin, beginning 'Dors, noble enfant'), which much affected the King when he heard it. *Blanche de Provence* was followed by a cantata

[3] *Life of Moscheles*, vol. i. p. 45.

for many voices, with choruses, the words of which were by Baour Lormian, and which was executed on the 2d May at the fête that took place at the Hôtel de Ville, on occasion of the Duke's baptism.

Moscheles writes, in his diary, that he attended the rehearsals both of *Blanche de Provence* and of this cantata: 'I drove,' he says, 'early with Lafont to the Hôtel de Ville, where Cherubini's new cantata, and the intermède by Boieldieu and Berton, written for the christening of the Duke of Bordeaux, were rehearsed. The first of these works was under the direction of the great master himself. His squeaky sharp little voice was sometimes heard in the midst of his conducting, and interrupted my state of ecstasy, caused by his presence and composition. The whole of the magnificent and far-famed court band was in attendance. The Prefect, Count Chabrol, and his wife, whom I met at this rehearsal, offered me, in the most friendly manner, a ticket for the grand ball to be given in honour of the christening. In the evening I attended the general rehearsal of an opera which Cherubini, Paër, Berton, Boieldieu, and Kreutzer had jointly composed in honour of this same christening. The final chorus, by Cherubini, made an indelible impression on my mind. Each master conducted his own pieces, and Cherubini was loudly cheered.' On the following

9th May he writes: 'To-day I played in the Hôtel de Ville, where the city of Paris gave a grand banquet to the Provincial Deputies. Cherubini, Boieldieu, and Berton directed the music.'

In October and November 1821, Cherubini wrote a short but lovely Mass in B flat, now published in the first volume of his posthumous works. It was in this year that Fétis was nominated professor of composition at the Conservatoire in the place of Eler. Eight months after he had entered upon his functions, his pupils were examined by the committee of education over which Cherubini presided, with Paër, Lesueur, Berton, Reicha, and Boieldieu associated with our composer as members of the committee; and Fétis was much gratified at Cherubini addressing him as follows: 'Monsieur, c'est avec beaucoup d'intérêt que le comité a passé l'examen de votre classe, et qu'il a trouvé chez vos élèves l'art de faire chanter les parties d'une manière élégante et naturelle; art difficile, si bien connu des anciens maîtres, et qui se perd aujourd'hui; c'est avec une vive satisfaction que nous voyons que vous travaillez à le faire revivre.' Some years later Cherubini expressed himself more explicitly as to Fétis' merits, in the report which he made to the Académie des Beaux Arts, on Fétis' Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue, written for the Conserva-

toire. Cherubini observed of that work, that it was the only one of its kind in which the rules for scientific compositions, especially those for the fugue, were put forward with method and clearness.[4]

In 1822 (not, as Fétis says, in 1821) Cherubini became director of the reëstablished Conservatoire, one of the most important events in his life. Since the Restoration of the Bourbons, that Institution, under the title of 'Ecole Royale,' which it retained till 1830, had fallen into decay. When Sarrette, after successive recalls and dismissals, according as Napoleon or the Bourbons were in power, had finally been dismissed, Perne succeeded him with the title of Inspector-General. Perne was an able musician, but the Government gave him no help. The few teachers there received only five hundred francs as salary. There were no instruments for some of the classes. Owing to the scarcity of firewood, furniture, and especially old pianofortes, had actually been burnt for fuel. In January 1822, Perne in despair sent in his resignation. This event roused the attention of the Marquis de Lauriston, Minister of the Royal Household. He saw that the Conservatoire must be reformed, if it were to be kept up at all; and that this could only be done by able management and plenty of money. For the furtherance of his

[4] *Biog. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 232.

scheme he fixed on Cherubini, who, on the 1st April was named Director of the Conservatoire, with a salary of 8000 francs, and a further 1500 francs instead of a residence. It was afterwards altogether raised to 10,000 francs; but this was not till 1841, a year before Cherubini's death. Thus, in his 61st year, Cherubini received a tardy justice in being intrusted with the important task of governing the first musical Academy in France. No sooner did his reign begin than it was felt. His administrative ability shone forth. His experience was immense, and he reformed the system of all the classes. Never was there a greater transformation in the conduct of an institution. Cherubini was now to show that he could be a distinguished administrator. Many can shut themselves up in the study-room, and address the world from their writing-tables. Cherubini could do that, but he could govern also. Under his rule the Conservatoire rose to its present high position; and as long as that Institution exists, the influence of Cherubini, once dominant in the French capital, cannot be said to have departed from it. Cherubini, first of all, engaged the services of the best men in the various branches of the musical art; and thus his efforts came to be seconded by an able staff of professionals. Under him were Lesueur, Berton, Boieldieu, Reicha, Fétis,

Dourlen, and Daussoigne, for the theory of composition; Lays, Garat, Plantade, Ponchard, Blangini, Bordogni, and Garaudé, for singing; Benoist, Pradher, Zimmermann, Kreutzer, Baillot, Habeneck, Baudiot, Levasseur, Lefebvre, Delcambre, Guillou, Vogt, and Dauprat, for instrumental teaching. The management of the library was given over to Perne, who sent in his resignation after a year, and was succeeded in the post by Eler. The spirit of Cherubini communicated itself to masters and pupils. The Marquis de Lauriston thought he had found the right man in choosing Cherubini as Conservatory director, and he was right. Every professor, before opening his class each day, had to sign a book called 'le registre de présence,' to show that he had attended to his duties that day; and this register of 'the house,' as Cherubini called the Conservatoire, the composer never failed to examine. He had also to see that all his pupils were there. But what Cherubini exacted of others, he also exacted from himself. Strictness was the best rule in managing so large an institution, and Cherubini set a good example in being strict with himself. There he was at ten o'clock every morning, regularly at his bureau, writing, answering correspondence, hearing the professors or pupils who had anything to say to him. He was never unpunctual. As he was never behind his time, so was

he never before it. Regularity was with him a cardinal virtue, the contrary a deadly sin. He was always looking at his watch, and counting the number of minutes in which everything must be done. If his pupils were at all unpunctual, he lost his temper at once. Thus it is recorded that when the Marquis de Lauriston came to distribute some prizes at the Conservatoire, and was rather late, Cherubini greeted him with, 'Vous arrivez bien tard, monseigneur.' Order was no less insisted on. Cherubini could not bear anything like untidiness. He loved method in doing his work. He was never seen to laugh or even to smile in his intercourse with his pupils. He was always in earnest, and had no time for frivolity.

'To his new functions,' says Fétis, 'he brought the most scrupulous exactitude of duty, that spirit of order which he had possessed during his whole life, and an entire devotion to the prosperity of the establishment. Severe, exacting towards the professors and servants, as he was with himself, he brought with him little love, in his connections with the artistes placed under his authority.'

'All his care,' says Lafage less justly, 'was confined to a minute superintendence and a rigorous demand for exactitude; he did not know how to accelerate progress, and encourage rising talent; his whole character is depicted in this sentence, spoken

after a rehearsal of a piece in which every executant took the greatest pains. As chagrin and ill-humour, constantly expressed in his face, had not yet ceased to show itself, he was asked if he was satisfied: "Dès que je ne dis rien," he replied, "c'est que je suis content." . . His harshness was habitual, and appeared ever so disagreeable, because of his bluntness of speech and his Italian accent, of which not even a fifty years' sojourn in France deprived him. He was equally stern in all his relations with the professors. It was not that he had a bad nature; but the nervous maladies from which he had suffered, and the vexations to which for twenty years he had been subjected, with but little to counterbalance them, had left in him, now in a good and well-merited position, a certain irritability, which deprived his society of a part of the charm which it was capable of exercising, and made approach to him unpleasant. His character manifested itself to all the world, even to the authorities on whom he was dependent."[3]

That Cherubini's administration was not free from annoyances is probable enough. Several times he sent in his resignation, but fortunately difficulties were smoothed down. The results of his administration, in a musical point, no one disputes. 'Al-

[3] Michaud's *Biog. Univ.* vol. i. p. 98.

though,' says Fétis, 'he may be reproached for having been too minute in the details of his direction of the Conservatoire, it is not less true that he raised that school, fallen from its ancient splendour when it was in M. Papillon de la Ferte's province, as superintendent of the King's Menus-Plaisirs. The respect which the great talent of Cherubini inspired exercised its influence on the professors and pupils; the glory of his name was reflected on the establishment which he directed.'

When Cherubini wished to send off a letter or message of any kind at the Conservatoire, he always rang a little bell close by; and a servant, who was regularly stationed at the door of his room, entered to perform at once what was required. Our composer was never idle. When his duties were over, he would occupy himself with writing out his own scores for publication, or those of other masters, as a study for himself. To one who asked him why he gave himself this trouble, he replied, 'There is always something to learn.' His wife one day asked him the same question, and he answered, 'I learn, and were I to live a thousand years, I should still find something to learn.' He also said to her, 'There is good to be got from them (the works of others), which remains in your mind.' His patience in writing out his scores, the pains he took, were

remarkable. If a blot fell on his paper, he cut round it with his pen-knife, and fitted another piece of paper so neatly on to the place, that you could with difficulty see where the blot had been. His manuscript scores were so beautifully written, that they rivalled printing. In this respect how different from Beethoven! In his leisure hours Cherubini's favourite amusements were drawing and cutting flowers, or classifying plants. He was a thorough botanist, and a master of etching. At twelve o'clock, he left his office, and proceeded on his round through the classes, inspecting the establishment. This reminds me of a story told of him. A child of great talent, handsome in person, of a gentle disposition, and the son of a musician, wished very much to be a pupil at the Conservatoire. On the day appointed for applications, his father took him to the Institution. The two attracted attention, as the father was six feet high, the son but a little fellow. After a friendly interview with an official, they were placed in a passage where those applying for admittance would meet the director, who passed through at twelve o'clock on his way to the class-rooms. At that hour, in came Cherubini, evidently astonished at encountering a tall man, who awkwardly held out one hand to him, and had hold of his little son in the other. Confused at the contrast which the two presented, and not

knowing which was the applicant—for the father seemed too old, and the son too young—Cherubini put on a stern face, and said, rather severely, 'What do you want here?' adding, 'I do not put infants out to nurse;' and he passed on. The poor father was intensely chagrined at such a reception, but was told to keep up his courage. As a final chance for the son, he was taken, accompanied by the father, to the last class-room, placed before a piano, and told to play anything he could think of, and not to stop in case any one should enter the room. Cherubini, on finishing the round of the classes, must certainly enter this room. He soon came in, and was struck by the extempore playing of the child; stopped, sat down, and listened attentively. The age, the beauty, the talent of the performer astonished him. When the playing was over, Cherubini caressed and encouraged the child. He asked him some questions on the principles of his art, which were answered. At last, unable to contain his admiration, he exclaimed: 'Bravo, my little friend; but why are you here, and what can I do for you?' 'A thing that is very easy,' was the reply, 'and which would make me very happy: put me into the Conservatoire.' 'It's a thing done,' said Cherubini; 'you are one of us.' After this he left the hall, telling the story good-humouredly to his friends, saying, 'I had to be

careful about pushing the questions too far, for the baby was beginning to prove to me that he knew more about music than I do myself.'

Cherubini seems to have been somewhat popular, in spite of his strictness and the fear he inspired. His favourites looked upon him as a father as well as a teacher and a friend. He was not above encouraging the efforts of youth, and did not spare himself trouble in helping and interesting himself in others, as the following letters may serve to show. One is dated June 14th, 1821, and addressed to M. le Baron De Bruyère St. Michel, and shows his kind feelings towards a young musician whom, however, he was unable to assist. 'En réponse,' he says, 'à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser, Monsieur le Baron, j'ai l'avantage de vous assurer que je prends à M. Henry, votre recommandé, autant d'intérêt que vous, mais malheureusement il n'est plus en mon pouvoir de révoquer ce qui a été prononcé à son sujet, non par moi particulièrement, mais par le conseil assemblé du Corps de Musique que je commande. Ce Corps a été dernièrement réduit et fixé à cinquante-quatre exécutants par ordre positif de Monsieur le Maréchal; vous pouvez vous en assurer facilement par vous-même, Monsieur, à l'état major. Le travail opéré par le conseil de ma compagnie, afin d'arrêter la nouvelle

organization, est actuellement entre les mains de M. le Maréchal; je ne suis plus le maître d'y faire le moindre changement: ce n'est que lui qui le peut, et créer une place de plus fixe s'il le veut, pour reintegrer M. Henry dans le Corps dont il faisait partie avant la réforme. Je regrette donc infiniment, Monsieur le Baron, de ne pouvoir obtemperer à vos désirs, en étant utile en même temps à M. Henry, que j'aime beaucoup, et voudrais satisfaire si j'en avais les moyens. Je pense que vous pouvez tout en sa faveur, et je puis vous assurer qu'en cela vous seconderez parfaitement mes désirs. Je suis très flatté que cette circonstance m'ait procuré l'avantage d'être en relation avec vous, Monsieur le Baron, pour vous prier d'agréer l'assurance de la considération très distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, L. CHERUBINI.'

To this letter, written in a beautiful hand, neat and small, I may add another, in which we find him interesting himself in a Mdlle. David, a pupil of the Conservatoire. It is addressed from the Conservatoire to a Parisian impresario, and dated Paris, December 8, 1832. 'Monsieur, Mdlle. David, à laquelle je porte infiniment d'intérêt comme à tous les élèves du Conservatoire, m'a fait part de la proposition qu'elle vous a faite de faire partie de votre théâtre, sans recevoir d'appointement, jusqu'au mois

d'Avril prochain, et vous lui avez promis une réponse définitive pour la semaine dans laquelle nous allons entrer. J'ai l'honneur donc, Monsieur, de réitérer la demande qu'elle vous a faite, espérant que vous y consentirez sans peine : même je vous en prie. Je puis vous assurer que vous serez satisfait sous tous les rapports de Mdlle. David, car c'est une élève zélée, et que lorsqu'elle aura un peu plus d'habitude des planches, elle pourra se rendre très utile dans votre administration. Je vous la recommande, et vous prie de croire à ma reconnaissance pour tout ce que vous ferez pour elle. Agréez, Monsieur, la nouvelle assurance de la considération très distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très dévoué serviteur, L. CHERUBINI.' This letter is in a very unsteady hand. Cherubini was seventy-two at the time.

I have also seen a letter from Cherubini (without date) to the Duc de Richelieu, asking for his son-in-law, M. Turcas, the post of military commissary at Paris, which I insert; though it exhibits only a natural instance of kindness, seeing that the object of it was his son-in-law. The letter, written in a most beautiful hand on a quarto sheet, runs as follows :

'*À S. E. Monsieur le Duc de Richelieu.*

'Monseigneur,—Votre excellence n'ayant pas jugé à propos de m'accorder sa puissante recommandation

en faveur de mon gendre, M. Turcas, sous-inspecteur aux revenues, dans une affaire dont elle pensait elle-même qu'il était désormais superflu de s'occuper puisque les nominations étaient faîtes, voulut bien me faire espérer qu'elle ne me la refuserait pas, si une autre occasion se présentait; permettez moi donc, Monseigneur, d'avoir recours à votre bienveillance.

'M. Turcas a passé la plus grande partie de sa jeunesse dans le commerce, toute sa famille suit cette carrière, et le peu d'espoir qu'il a d'entrer dans le nouveau Corps des Intendans Militaires à cause du très petit nombre de vacances, et de la grande quantité de concurrens, l'a décidé à reprendre la carrière où il a acquis les connoissances nécessaires; il s'est donc attaché à une maison de banque, et a adressé à S. E. le Ministre des Finances une demande tendant à obtenir une des deux places d'agent de change qui restent à nommer pour Paris. Le ministre a renvoyé cette demande à la chambre Syndicale, dont les membres sont bien disposés en faveur de mon gendre, et se proposent de le porter sur la nouvelle liste de présentation. Oserais-je espérer, Monseigneur, que vous daignerez nous honorer de votre haute protection dans une affaire bien importante pour nous, puisque sa réussite assurera le sort de mon gendre et de ma fille: je vous la demande avec instance, et je serai

très heureux si votre Excellence veut accueillir avec quelque intérêt la demande que je prends la liberté de lui adresser.

'J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, de votre Excellence le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

'L. CHERUBINI.'

The application was successful.

Though merciless in criticism, Cherubini's acknowledged popularity among his pupils is not surprising if we only consider his unaffected modesty and even diffidence about himself. At a concert at which he was present when a piece of Beethoven was followed by his own overture to *L'Hôtellerie Portugaise*, he remarked quite naturally, 'I am now going to appear a very small boy.'

At two o'clock it was Cherubini's custom to go home, and then his day's work at the Conservatoire was over. He lived in an unpretending set of rooms on the third floor of the house No. 19 Faubourg Poissonnière. Before a window was his writing-table. Opposite the fireplace in his bedroom was a small piano (happy instrument!) of five and a half octaves, which he had used for many years whilst composing. The piano was from the workshops of old Sebastian Erard. Cherubini greatly prized it,

and always took it with him when visiting his friends out of Paris, at Chimay, Chartres, Gaillon, Breuilpont, Malabri, Montlignon, &c. After his death his widow gave it to Pierre Erard, for the latter's collection of historically interesting instruments. It now stands by the side of the pianos of Piccinni and Glück.[6]

It has been regretted that Cherubini was so much occupied in the administration of the Conservatoire, since he was a great composer, who should rather have enjoyed much leisure for bringing out his grand ideas. Thus, even as early as 1795, when the Conservatoire was established, Grétry expressed a hope that Sarrette would occupy himself in all those duties which it was not the part of talented artistes to undertake. 'The moments of men of genius,' he says, 'are too precious to be lost in a multiplicity of duties; Méhul, Lesueur, and Cherubini are the hope of lyric theatres; to turn them aside from their talent in order to occupy them with matters of routine, would be an unpardonable fault.'[7] On his becoming director Cherubini's compositions for the King's chapel certainly decreased in number; yet, otherwise, is there anything now to regret? Subordinates might, as Miel observes, have undertaken much that Cherubini insisted on doing himself, but what have we lost? It would be hard to imagine

[6] *Musical World*, 1862.

[7] *Mémoires*, vol. iii. p. 372.

more beautiful works from him than those we possess, and we see the versatility of his powers, in his being able, amidst increasing distractions and occupations, to compose as well as, if not better than, ever, besides that conscientiousness in the discharge of his public duties which confers greater honour on him than all the orders and decorations that he ever received.

Speaking of Cherubini's character, which came out strongly in his rule at the Conservatoire, Adolphe Adam says: 'As a man Cherubini has been differently, and perhaps unjustly appreciated. Extremely nervous, *brusque*, irritable, absolutely independent, his first movements almost always appeared unfavourable. He easily returned to his natural disposition, which was excellent, and which he was forced to conceal, under appearances the least flattering. Moreover, in spite of the unevenness of his temper (no one pretends that he had an equable temper, for he was always passionate), he was worshipped by those around him. The veneration in which his pupils held him reached to fanaticism. MM. Halévy and Batton lavished on him in his last moments a truly filial care. Boieldieu never spoke of him but with respect and tenderness, and Cherubini bestowed on his pupils all the affection that they had for him. There was one of them, Halévy, whom he con-

sidered as one of his children; hardly a month has yet passed since, when speaking to me of that cherished pupil, he put forth so much earnestness in describing to me the love he bore him, that I was moved to tears. The sensations experienced in approaching Cherubini were so strange, that it would be hard to define them, and much more to understand them. The veneration that you had for his great age and fine talent was suddenly altered by ridicule aroused by little trifles to which he clung with a persevering obstinacy. Then at the end of a few minutes, as though he had understood that it was too long a time to act the disagreeable to no purpose, his face relaxed, that smile so refined and shrewd came to animate the fine head of the old man, good nature resumed the ascendant, little by little the faults of a spoilt child disappeared, he became a good man in spite of himself; his heart opened out to yours, and then you could resist him no more; you left him, charmed and altogether surprised to have felt towards this extraordinary man, in so short a time, sentiments so different—repulsion, admiration, enthusiasm.'[8]

'As a man,' says Miel, 'he has been differently judged; which is explained by his uneven temper and the anomalies of his character. Punctual, re-

[8] *Derniers Souvenirs.*

gular, methodical in all his deliberate acts, he was order personified; but only let an insect come and buzz about his ear, there and then he lost his equilibrium, and the artiste's nerves were in revolt; he was no longer his own master; now look out for roughnesses! We do not approach the subject without trembling. Otherwise this irritability did not last long. It left too little traces for it to be ascribed to a result of organisation, and you are led to attribute it to some accidental cause. The phantasmagoria of Sarti: might it have over-excited that youthful imagination, and impressed on delicate organs a too durable shock? Or must we descend to the superstition of names, and accord to that of Professor Bizzarri a mysterious influence on the pupil's future? Or was it not rather a transient return of that splenetic nervous affection of which we have spoken. Whatever it was, Cherubini was only rough outwardly; his servants knew and understood him, and said among themselves: "Leave him alone; when he has acted enough of the wicked man, he will become good again. It is the good-natured churl."[9] Arnold gives us another picture of him: 'Cherubini in society was outwardly silent, modest, unassuming, pleasing, and obliging, and possessed the finest and most engaging manners. At

[9] Miel, p. 24.

the same time he who did not know that he was with Cherubini would think him stern and reserved, so well did the composer know how to conceal everything, if only to avoid ostentation. He truly shunned brag or speaking of himself. Cherubini's voice was feeble, probably from narrow-chestedness, and somewhat hoarse, but was otherwise soft and agreeable. His French was Italianised. . . His head was bent forward, his nose was large and aquiline; his eyebrows were thick, black, and somewhat bushy, overshadowing his eyes. His eyes were dark, and glittered with an extraordinary brilliancy that animated in a wonderful way the whole face. A thin lock of hair came over the centre of his forehead, and somehow gave to his countenance a peculiar softness.' One who knew Cherubini writes to me: 'My own recollections of him are anything but pleasant. He looked a dry, screwed-up little man. Ingres' portrait gives the most accurate conception of his outward appearance. He had a finely-shaped head, with thin lips, keen eyes, and gray locks. His remarks were generally satirical.'

Cherubini's love for Halévy, his adopted son, was well reciprocated. We see the latter's affection even in his critical writings on his master, sometimes it is conspicuous on his page, sometimes it lurks beneath, as though restrained by a fierce reserve.

'Whether it is devotion, filial affection, or artistic conviction, I avow that Cherubini's renown is dear to me, and I would preserve it from all attack.' Again he says, with a certain bitterness, with the thought of Cherubini doubtless in his mind: 'Men do not easily accord their admiration; you are not inscribed without a contest on the golden book of posterity. The mere lustre of a name is, then, for an artiste, one of the most glorious of testimonies, a certain indication of a high influence, the proof of an eminent position. It is a noble and beautiful heritage to leave after you, often acquired at the expense of a whole life's repose, by works and incessant combats,—the right to the respect of all. It is nowadays most especially that this right is often contested; nowadays that strong hands, pulling off the mantle of purple, effacing those acquired suffrages, ruffle, tear, and trample it to tatters, at the will of caprice and passion. It is even this peril especially which makes the possession of a blessing, though won with difficulty, and however precious it may be, in one moment or at another, liable to be attacked by a whole army.' Lastly, before beginning that torso which he meant to be a monument to his master, that fine biographical fragment from which I have been quoting, he says: 'Whatever opinion you may have of Cherubini's genius, whatever may be the degree of sym-

pathy that you feel with his works, you cannot deny that his name is great and illustrious. Among the names written in the sanctuary of the arts, his is one of the most venerated. He took little care of it when he was alive; it is only a pious duty to seek to make it popular after his death. We shall strive to follow him in his works, to set store by their importance, to measure the influence which they have exercised on contemporary works; we shall see what place they are worthy of occupying in the history of art.' I have dwelt upon Halévy for Cherubini's sake. A man who is loved by no one is undoubtedly a disagreeable character. Cherubini clearly was not such a man. To his fellow-musicians he was nearly always well-disposed. He treated them as brothers. His relations with Haydn, Beethoven, Hummel, Spohr, Méhul, Lesueur, Boieldieu, Halévy, and others are not otherwise than highly gratifying, and prove that, under however rough an exterior, Cherubini had a heart; and showed deep sympathy with his fellow-labourers. Little idiosyncrasies could not hide for ever the real worth of the man. Cherubini's character must be taken as a whole, and not some isolated facts be seized upon to prove indubitably that he was always harsh and cold. The characters of great men, from not being commonplace, are seldom truly understood.

Cherubini was fond of smart sayings, and of being rude, nor did he spare his friends. Thus Halévy once took Cherubini to hear one of his operas. At the end of the first act he asked his master how he liked it. Cherubini made no reply. At the end of the second act Halévy repeated his question. Again no answer. 'Vous ne me répondez point,' exclaimed Halévy. 'Que vous répondre,' replied the inexorable maëstro, 'voici deux heures que vous ne me dites rien.'

Again, when Beethoven's Mass in D was being one day given, Berlioz spoke against the fugue 'et vitam.' Cherubini entering the corridor, and hearing something was going on, said, 'What is it?' Some one replied, pointing to Berlioz, 'This fellow does not like the fugue.' 'That is because the fugue does not like him,' said Cherubini. At another time, when Cherubini was venting his rage against the parents of precocious children, a lady came in on an appointed interview, bringing with her her child, whom she began to praise as a wonderful genius, 'a perfect child of nature.' 'Madame,' said the maëstro, 'leave him with us; we will adopt him. Quel bonheur de trouver un enfant de la Nature, tombé sur la terre, sans père, sans mère, sans sœur, sans frère.'[10] At another time, he silenced one who was complaining of

[10] Ella's *Musical Sketches.*

the chromatic progression from F sharp to F natural in Rossini's Prayer from *Moses.* 'What do you say,' said the pedant, 'to this flagrant transgression of that libertine, Rossini?' 'What do I say?' replied Cherubini; 'I only wish I had committed it.'[11] On another occasion, a work was brought him, generally reputed to be Méhul's. 'Show it me, then,' said Cherubini to the person who brought it. At last he said, 'It is not Méhul's; it is too bad to be his.' 'It is mine,' said the other. 'I tell you it is not yours.' 'Why, dear master?' 'Because it's too good to be yours.'

His son-in-law, M. Turcas, had composed a symphony, the minuet of which was performed at the Conservatoire concert of 22d April 1838, and on his informing Cherubini that he had written the symphony, the latter said brusquely: 'Ce sera mauvais.' 'Et pourquoi?' said Turcas, to his cruel father-in-law. 'Pourquoi? parceque j'en ai fait, et Méhul aussi, et que je m'y connais.'[12]

When he went to see Adolphe Adam's son at school, he said bluntly enough: 'How ugly he is!' When some friends told him that they had not yet been to see Boieldieu's *La Dame Blanche,* though it had already been performed ten times, Cherubini said: 'Perhaps you are waiting for her to change colour.' His vigorous remark, when asked why

[11] Ella's *Musical Sketches.* [12] Elwart.

he no longer brought out works at the Opéra Comique, has been preserved in a letter of Mendelssohn from Paris, dated Feb. 21, 1832: 'I am not going to give my operas without chorus, without orchestra, without singers, and without decorations.'

Brod, the oboe-player, died on the 5th of April 1839. Tulou, the flute-player, returning from Brod's funeral, met Cherubini and said: 'Ah, maëstro, we have lost our dear friend, Brod.' 'What! what!! what!!!' exclaimed the aged Cherubini, who was then deaf. With a loud voice Tulou repeated, 'Brod is dead.' 'Ah,' replied the stoical Florentine, turning away, 'Petit son, petit son' (little tone).[13] The one vindictive saying that Cherubini, as far as I know, ever uttered was not aimed at an individual, 'The only thing worse than one flute is two.' If any of my readers play that instrument, I fear that Cherubini will have made himself their enemy for ever. Cherubini eventually made a point of never lending his umbrella, for if he did he found that he never got it back again. One day he was walking along the boulevards when it began to rain. A gentleman, driving by, recognised the maëstro, and, alighting, placed his vehicle at Cherubini's disposal, who got in. The gentleman, who was going a different way,

[13] Ella's *Musical Sketches.*

said, 'M. Cherubini, will you lend me your umbrella?' 'No; I never lend my umbrella,' was Cherubini's reply; and he drove off![14]

A somewhat pleasanter tale remains to be told. In 1824, Adolphe Adam, to his disgust, was called to serve as a soldier. He went in search of Cherubini, found him, and after much beating about the bush, told him that a certificate from him, attesting his (Adam's) aptitude for musical composition, would insure a release from the conscription. Cherubini was fond of Adolphe Adam, and was unwilling to refuse him any request, but did not wish to run any risks himself in the matter. He gave him a certificate thus expressed: 'J'atteste que l'élève Adolphe Adam suit exactement les classes du Conservatoire.' Adam saw that this would be of no use whatever as an excuse to the military authorities. Remembering a finger which had been disabled for two years, and from which he still fancied that he suffered, he went to a certain celebrated surgeon, who had treated the finger, and asked him to aid him in his object. The surgeon was as honest as the musician, and wrote a certificate as follows: 'Je certifie avoir opéré M. Adolphe Adam d'une tumeur au doigt, dont il est parfaitement guéri!' Happily, Adolphe's short stature and bad eyesight

[14] *Once a Week.*

served him in better stead, and he was enabled to continue his musical studies in peace.[15]

I have all along had some fear lest my readers should be disappointed at not finding more abundant and minute details of Cherubini himself. The fact is, that those who knew him best have told us little about him. But I hope that enough has been said to demonstrate that, after all, Cherubini was not so bad as he has been painted. Englishmen, at any rate, will be able to appreciate 'his stern reserve and force of character.'[16]

[15] *Notice sur A. Adam.* [16] Schumann.

CHAPTER V.

1822–1825.

The Pensionnat—The Société des Concerts—Their origin—Cherubini's coöperation—The smaller concerts—The *Inclina Domine*—Beethoven's Mass in D, and letter to Cherubini—Cherubini and Liszt—The Coronation Mass in A, at Rheims, for the crowning of Charles X.

As early as the August of 1822, Cherubini reëstablished the Pensionnat of the Conservatoire, which had been abolished, together with the public competitions in vocal and orchestral works by the pupils, in which all who had gained the first prize since 1816 could be candidates. This course was but a step towards the subsequent foundation of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, established by a decree of the 15th of February 1828, and which originated as follows:

Habeneck invited his musical friends to dinner on St. Cecilia's day, telling them to bring their instruments with them. Among those who responded were Guillou, Tulou, Vogt, Brod, Dacosta, Buteux, Dauverné, Bulk, Dauprat, Blangy, Meifred, Mengal,

[illegible] Battu, Tol[illegible] Candel, Gué[illegible] and Chaft. The *Eroica* [illegible] After several [illegible] Rue Neuve [illegible] Habeneck's house, in the [illegible] the symphony [illegible] Cherubini being in[illegible] and Habeneck's idea of having [illegible] that they should take place in the [illegible] Since 1815, the [illegible] had not been resumed. [illegible] Cherubini [illegible] the king's minister, M. Sosthène de La[illegible] the authorisation desired by Habeneck, who himself agreed to find the funds for the [illegible]

The government, however, granted 2000 francs a year towards the expenses, and the decree founding the society was communicated by Cherubini to the professors and a number of the chief pupils. Amidst general approbation an engagement to abide by the decree was signed by those present on the 24th of March. A provisionary committee of the new society, composed of Cherubini (president), Habeneck (vice-president), Guillou (secretary), Dauprat, Brod, F. Halévy, Kuhn (chef-du-chant), Meifred,

Amedée, Albert Bonet, A. Dupont, and Tajan Rogé, convoked an assembly of all those who had signed the adhesion to the regulations of the decree; and Guillou, in the name of the committee, made known the proposed rules of the committee, and an adhesion to these latter was also signed.

On Cherubini's and Méhul's recommendation, Habeneck was chosen conductor of the concerts, among the chief objects of which was the performance of Beethoven's works. Let us see how this object was fulfilled from 1828 to 1862. The first symphony was performed thirteen times; the second, twenty-six; the third (*Eroica*), twenty-eight; the fourth, twenty-four; the fifth (C minor), fifty-three; the sixth, (pastoral), fifty-one; the seventh, fifty-two; the eighth, fourteen; the ninth (choral), nineteen: total, two hundred and eighty performances. The overture to *Fidelio*, seven times; to *Leonora*, four; to *Coriolanus*, nine; to the *Ruins of Athens*, twice; to *Egmont*, six times; to *King Stephen*, once; to *Prometheus*, seven times; overture in C, twice: total, thirty-eight performances. Chamber-music quartets, op. 18, three times; trio in E flat, op. 38, once; the quartets, op. 59, four times; fugue of ninth quartet, twice; septet, twenty-seven times; trio for two hautboys and cors anglais, four times: total, forty-one performances. Cherubini's action as director of the

Société des Concerts, exhibits his regard for Beethoven, yet Berlioz, when saying that the great musicians of Paris at this time were indifferent to Beethoven, dares to include Cherubini in that class. At the same time he speaks of the Florentine as one 'qui concentrait sa bile et n'osait la répandre sur un maître (Beethoven) dont les succès l'irritaient profondement, et sapaient l'édifice de ses théories les plus chères;'[1] but then, according to Berlioz, Berton was one who pitied German music; Boieldieu, one who was ignorantly surprised at the least harmonic combinations; Paër, one who told unfavourable anecdotes of Beethoven; Catel, one who cared more about his rose-trees than music; Kreutzer, one who disdained all that came from the other side of the Rhine; Lesueur, one who was deaf, and not attending the Conservatoire concerts. All these, according to Berlioz, were enemies to Beethoven. But it is intolerable to find him making this charge against the very man who, in the teeth of opposition, had Beethoven's symphonies performed.

[1] Berlioz's *Mémoires*, p. 74. Professor Ella, in his interesting *Musical Union* papers, relates an anecdote which may be set off against Berlioz's statement here. Cherubini, becoming impatient with a pupil who, while describing to him the performance of one of Beethoven's symphonies, said nothing on the merits of the composition, spoke thus: 'Young man, let your sympathies be first wedded to the creative, and be you less fastidious of the executive; accept the interpretation, and think more of the creation of those musical works which are written for all time, and all nations—models for imitation, and above all criticism.'

For what, according to Elwart, are the facts? 'When Cherubini was informed of Habeneck's plan, he agreed to the request that the latter should obtain the authority of the minister with a degree of warmth that does honour to his memory.' Again: 'The minister, M. de Larochefoucault, assented to Cherubini's proposals.' The very decree begins: 'At the request of the Directors of the Ecole Royal de Musique we have resolved,' &c.; and art. 9 charges Cherubini with the execution of the decree. The statutes of the Société des Concerts begin thus: 'With the agreement of the Director of the Ecole de Musique.' Lastly, Cherubini was chairman of the administrative and executive committee. 'Cherubini knew very well,' remarks the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'that Habeneck's object was the performance of the works of Beethoven. Had he entertained so mean an opinion of the latter as he is reported to have held, he certainly would not have promoted and arranged the whole affair with the zeal he did.'[2]

A number of concerts took place every year, for which, as we have said, the government eventually gave an annual grant of two thousand francs. No solos were allowed, and at Cherubini's order the movable platform, rising step by step, just as it now stands, was built. At the first concert, March 9th, 1828, the

[2] *Musical World*, 1862, p. 559.

Eroica symphony was performed, and found great favour among the pupils. The ordinary concerts took place on Sundays at two o'clock; others that might now and then take place on week-days were called 'concerts spirituels.' At the first concert for 1829 (Feb. 15), Cherubini's *Chant sur la Mort de Haydn* was sung by Ponchard, Nourrit, and Maillard; at the fourth concert in 1830 (4th April), the celebrated introductory chorus from *Elisa*—the solos being sung by Prévot and Hurteaux; and on Feb. 1, 1835, Clapisson's *Voici la Nuit*—recommended to Habeneck for performance by Cherubini himself. At the extra concert at the Conservatoire on the 30th May 1830, a rather unfortunate circumstance occurred. Cherubini, before beginning, always waited for royalty; the only royal princess who loved and patronised music came ten minutes late, and some hissing, forerunner of the storm in July, began, which was not sufficiently drowned by the voices, then just beginning to sing, to prevent her hearing the salute from the pit that did not respect a mark of deference on Cherubini's part. Besides the great concerts there were also the smaller ones called the 'Concerts d'Emulation,' given by the pupils themselves, at which Cherubini did not allow the young ladies of the Conservatoire to take any part either in the solos or choruses, they being solely allowed to perform in public

on the harp or the piano, while the orchestra only played the compositions of the pupils. In spite of all the representations of the most eminent professors, Cherubini adhered strictly to these rules. The chief box was reserved for Cherubini, D'Henneville, Delavigne, and Lambert, and emulation was especially excited among the pupils at these smaller concerts by the presence of their director. These, of which Elwart was conductor, Cherubini no less warmly encouraged than the great concerts.[3]

We must now return to the record of Cherubini's labours in church-music. Of the O Fons amoris, written in 1822, Girod observes: 'The motet O Fons amoris spiritus is only published in Germany; for this reason, and because it possesses a workmanship quite different from Cherubini's other religious works, some persons have thought that it was not composed by the author for the Church nor for these words, but that it was taken from some of his abandoned operas. We believe that the manuscript score of this piece, as with the Regina Cœli, was delivered to a German publisher. What confirms us in this idea is that the words are not extracted from the Roman liturgy, nor from those which are used in Germany, but entirely from one of the French liturgies. This piece is written for soprano *concertante*, with choral accompani-

[3] Elwart's *Histoire de la Société des Concerts.*

ment of men's voices. The allegro at the commencement and conclusion is replete with new and brilliant ideas; the unison of men's voices preparing the soloist's *crescendo* has a beautiful effect. The larghetto is sweet, but too full of organ points.'

Stanzas for the Duke of Angoulême's 'return' were composed by Cherubini on the 27th November 1823, and the Inclina Domine, a four-part introit with full orchestra, on the 16th December. 'The Inclina Domine,' says Girod, 'is a sort of little drama of charming and varied workmanship. It comprises three parts; the first is a choral prayer of a solemn and touching effect, followed by a tenor solo of a graceful character; the answer of the chorus ends it. The second is a magnificent plain chant executed in unison by the tenors and basses, and accompanied with energy and spirit by the strings. A fugal Amen forms the third part, and closes the piece in a brilliant manner.' This hymn has been given in London by Mr. Henry Leslie's choir.

It was in 1823 that Beethoven finished his Mass in D, a copy of which he offered to each of the European sovereigns for fifty ducats. The Emperor of Russia, and the Kings of France, Prussia, and Saxony accepted the offer. In offering a copy to the French monarch, Beethoven wrote a letter to Cherubini from his country seat, which was first sent on to Moscheles

with instructions what to do with it. A French translation of the letter was sent to Cherubini, if sent at all, which seems doubtful; for the latter never received the letter, nor did he ever hear of its existence till after Beethoven's death, as he told Schindler in 1841. The letter runs as follows:

'March 15, 1823, Vienna.

'Highly-esteemed Sir,—I joyfully take advantage of this opportunity to address you.

'I have done so often in spirit, as I prize your theatrical works beyond others. The artistic world has only to lament that in Germany, at least, no new dramatic work of yours has appeared. Highly as all your works are valued by true connoisseurs, still it is a great loss to art not to possess any fresh production of your great genius for the theatre.

'True art is imperishable and the true artist feels heartfelt pleasure in grand works of genius, and that is what enchants me when I hear a new composition of yours; in fact I take greater interest in it than in my own; in short, I love and honour you. Were it not that my continued bad health stops my coming to see you in Paris, with what exceeding delight would I discuss questions of art with you! Do not think that this is merely meant to serve as an introduction to the favour I am about to ask of you. I hope and feel sure that you do not for

a moment suspect me of such base sentiments. I recently completed a grand solemn Mass, and have resolved to offer it to the various European courts, as it is not my intention to publish it at present. I have therefore asked the King of France, through the French embassy here, to subscribe to this work, and I feel certain that his Majesty would at your recommendation agree to do so.

'My critical situation demands that I should not solely fix my eyes upon Heaven, as is my wont; on the contrary it would have me fix them also upon earth, here below, for the necessities of life.

'Whatever may be the fate of my request to you, I shall for ever continue to love and esteem you; and you for ever remain of all my contemporaries that one whom I esteem the most.

'If you should wish to do me a very great favour, you would effect this by writing to me a few lines, which would solace me much. Art unites all; how much more, then, true artistes! and perhaps you may deem me worthy of being included in that number.

'With the highest esteem, your friend and servant,

'LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN.

'Ludwig Cherubini.'

The King of France not only accepted a copy of the Mass, but sent Beethoven a heavy gold medal,

with the inscription, 'Donné par le roi à M. Beethoven,' who was highly gratified, and thought himself indebted to Cherubini in the whole affair.

In the following year, 1824, Cherubini came across the gifted Liszt, then a mere lad, whose father, writing to Carl Czerny, in a letter dated from Paris, September 3, 1824, says, speaking of his son: 'With his opera, at which he works industriously, I am sure you will be pleased; and I hope that it will be the greatest success of our travels. I must tell you a story relating to it. When the programme came before the censorship, it was asked who was going to write the music; and the poet answered, laughing, "Young Liszt." "What!" exclaimed Cherubini; "do you think that to compose an opera is as easy as performing a piece on the piano? That cannot be passed." Some others held the same view; Paër alone gave it as his opinion that a trial should be made. This happened while we were in London, and when we came back we knew nothing further about the matter. We went to the director of the opera to inform him that the opera was finished, and that Liszt was now beginning to score it. Now picture to yourself the thunderbolt when we heard what had occurred. My boy, who in his imagination was already conducting his opera, lost all hope; but I was philosopher enough to remain un-

concerned. Still, on the same day, I looked out for an opportunity for my boy to play something before the Minister of the Royal house. I gained my object, and we are now content, having the assurance of his high protection. There will doubtless still be some difficulties, but they will only serve to increase the glory. Cherubini and a few others do not care to see a younger man in their circle, but that is of no consequence.'

Young Liszt to be in Cherubini's circle! Could it be expected that a boy should enter, as a matter of course, at once on equal terms into the society of some of the most distinguished musicians of Europe?

From a letter of Liszt's father to Czerny, dated from Paris, August 14, 1825, we learn that Cherubini, Berton, Catel, Boieldieu, and Lesueur at length met as a jury to decide upon Liszt's opera, which after all was accepted.[4]

In 1825, Charles X. ascended the throne of France, and Lesueur and Cherubini, as king's musicians, had to write the music for the ceremony of the coronation, but the latter agreed to compose the Mass only, leaving the rest to Lesueur. The cathedral choir consisted on the occasion of 20 first and 20 second soprani, 28 tenors, 28 basses, making

[4] *Monthly Musical Record*, vol. i.

in all 96 singers. The instruments were 36 violins, 30 violas, violoncellos, and contrabasses, 28 wind and 8 percussion instruments; in all 102 instruments, and a grand total of 198 artistes. The king-elect entered the cathedral of Rheims at eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th of May to the strains of a march by Lesueur. Approaching the officiating archbishop in the sanctuary, he kissed the prelate's ring, and then the latter handed him the sword. Here Lesueur's anthem, 'Confortare,' was sung, and, during the preparation for the anointing, his anthem, 'Gentem Francorum.' During the seven stages of the anointing, the choruses, 'Unxerunt Salamonem' and 'Vivat rex, vivat in æternum,' were heard. Then came the Coronation March; while, as soon as the crown was placed on the head of the newly-made king, the 'Vivat rex' was again sung, accompanied by the full organ; a number of doves and other birds were let loose in the cathedral; three discharges of musketry followed; the cathedral doors were opened; the people poured in; the infantry and cavalry bands struck up outside; and then a short 'Te Deum' was sung, written by Lesueur. Then followed Cherubini's Mass.

'This work,' says the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'is endowed with such a character of grandeur, that it will evermore remain a lasting

monument of art, on account of the greatness and loftiness of its ideas, the depth of its conception, the nobleness of its expression, the richness and magnificence of its harmony and tone, and its brilliant clearness in all that relates to polyphony and harmonics.'

Girod in his treatise *De la Musique Religieuse* describes it as follows:

'The Mass written for the crowning of Charles X. is the most known, and to my mind the most beautiful, of Cherubini's Masses. Written for the large area of Rheims cathedral, the acoustic power of which was enfeebled by hangings and decorations, as well as by the immense concourse of all classes of people, it required a vast increase of executive power; and it was for this reason that Cherubini availed himself of the modern full orchestra, with four horns, three trombones, the ophicleide, &c., and wrote for three voices, since he despaired of finding enough contralti for the formidable choir which such an orchestra required, and, moreover, did not wish for any vocal or instrumental solo.[5] Such are the elements of this colossal Mass in the grandest style. What is so

[5] The Mass in A had a fourth (alto) part added to it by one Haydn Corri, I believe, in Ireland. In this state it was published by Messrs. Novello of London, and is still sold as a Mass for four voices by that firm. Cherubini, I am informed, was much annoyed at this tampering with his masterpiece. The fourth part of course gives the Mass when performed fuller effect.

extremely remarkable in this work is that all of it is novel, inspired, created out of the ideas, the style, the manner, down to the instrumental effects. We think that it will be useful to give an analysis of it. In the Kyrie, the melody of which, at once simple and touching, is well characterised, the strains are at first calm and soothing; then, in modulating from A major into C major and E, the orchestra becomes animated, the tone of supplication becomes more pressing, more energetic; after which the calm returns with the resumption of the first theme, while the predominating sentiment seems to become more loving and confiding. The Kyrie is an admirable model of prayer, quite different, however, from that which closes the Mass in the Agnus Dei. The Gloria is designed in large and salient forms; you find in it the triumphal hymn which is first heard at the commencement of the piece, and then at the close; it opens with an andante in unison for the voices, and is continued by the grand allegro of the Laudamus te, in which a crescendo, admirably introduced, seems to rouse the faithful to redouble their transports of praise and adoration. The andante on the words, "Gratias agimus," admirably depicts the Christian soul in ecstasy before the presence of divine greatness. In the slow movement which succeeds it, the sense of the "qui tollis" is given in all its reality, and

in a way such as we have discovered in no other Mass. Most composers take here the tone of sorrow and repentance, while in truth the subject is the triumph of the Lamb over sin; this glorious victory is celebrated in a chant both severe and forcible, followed by the grave supplication, full of hope, "miserere nobis." On hearing this music, you secretly acknowledge that the author must be a Catholic by conviction, to be able to compose in a style so truthful and feeling. The Credo is a creation apart, so original that you would search in vain elsewhere for any traits of resemblance to it. It forms a complete and varied whole; more than once it has been proposed to young composers as a model of truthfulness, of grandeur, and dramatic interest. In it every mystery has, so to speak, its appropriate colouring. Those which precede the centuries are expressed alternately by the basses and tenors, in a solemn melody that resembles plain-chant. Each mystery is in a different tone, but diatonic to the one that has preceded it; as soon as a mystery is announced, some wind instruments summon the whole choir to the profession of faith, and the word "credo" is given twice with new energy. The touching mystery of the Incarnation is confided to the soprani. It is the outburst of the purest faith and charity. The crucifixion is, in truth, admirable; the pathetic tone in it

is very expressive. A delicious harmony, which gradually dies away, conveys the idea of "sepultus est;" and to show that death has but a transient empire over the Body of its Conqueror, the phrase of "sepultus" does not finish; it is intercepted by the entry of the horns and trumpets, which announce the surprise of all nature, and proclaim the miracle of the Resurrection. The style takes here a new character of elevation and magnificence, which it sustains to the end. Throughout the entire piece, the composer's idea of making the chorus renew its profession of faith is carried out at each mystery. Among the most noticeable passages must be cited the *decrescendo*, so striking in its realism, on the words "cujus regni non erit finis;" the broad strain of the "et unam sanctum," the *crescendo* at the "expecto," which brings back the triumphal theme for the "et vitam." The offertory, "Propter veritatem," is a perfect type of its kind; and soft melodies, relieved by imitation, are found in it, as well as felicitous modulations. The Sanctus is a short but magnificent hymn of praise, both majestic and animated. The O Salutaris requires more care and precision in execution than the rest of the Mass. It is a fresh and delicate composition. It would have been better to give it as a trio than in chorus, although the author equally allows both methods. The prayer in it assumes quite a celestial

tone, well suitable to the awful mystery that at that moment takes place; you will remark in it the moaning and touching plaint of the accompaniment in the "bella premunt." The Agnus Dei, at first in A minor, is the soothing expression of humble and resigned supplication; when it goes into the major it indicates, by the sweetness of its music, peace and repose—"dona pacem."'[6]

Of the celebrated Communion March in this Mass Berlioz says: 'It is mystical expression in all its purity, contemplation, and Catholic ecstasy. . . Cherubini, by his veiled imperceptible melody, has known how to reach the most mysterious depths of Christian meditation. This piece breathes only of Divine Love, of faith without doubt, of calm, of the serenity of a soul in presence of its Creator; no earthly sound comes to mar its heavenly quiet, and it brings tears to the eyes of those who listen to it; tears that flow so gently, that the hearer of this seraphic song, carried away beyond mere ideas of art and a remembrance of the actual world, is unaware of his own emotion. If ever the word "sublime" has had a true and just application, it is *apropos* of Cherubini's Communion March.'

In another place, when complaining that the orchestral works were played on a pianoforte be-

[6] *De la Musique Religieuse*, p. 245.

fore the Academy, previous to its being decided which had gained the prize, he says: 'Play on the piano the Communion March from the Coronation Mass of Cherubini; what becomes of those delicious holding notes for the wind instruments, which plunge you into a mystic ecstasy; that ravishing interlacing of flutes and clarinets, whence results nearly all the effect?'

'The Confirma hoc Deus,' says M. Girod, 'for three voices, is a dependent of the Coronation Mass: it is written for the same orchestra; it is rich and grand, but in the fugal style, and consequently it is less acceptable to the ordinary public, in spite of its brilliancy and spirit.'

M. Adolphe Guéroult, in an article in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, wrote as follows: 'During Cherubini's Mass you will listen as a connoisseur, and be altogether in a dream. After hearing the Credo of the Coronation Mass you will say: There is a powerful composer! How he handles the vocal and instrumental forces! What felicity in the return of the word "credo," which recurs incessantly after each musical period! how energetic and how solemn an affirmation! what force, what meaning in effects! Meanwhile you have had time to remark that the chorus has slackened, and a trombone sent forth a blast of questionable appropriateness. . . As to the

symbol of Nicæa, the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the great event it recalls, you hardly think of it more than after a representation of *William Tell.* You go out a dilettante, and not a Christian.'

M. Girod quotes this passage, and refutes M. Guéroult in a long and able reply; he ends by saying that the Credo of Cherubini's Coronation Mass 'has called forth from more than one auditory tender emotions that have almost brought tears. . . Let only this music,' he adds, 'be executed under the conditions which we have established in the body of this work, and it will be impossible not to draw from it effects that are profoundly religious.' As to M. Guéroult himself, Girod does not hesitate to say that 'of all the theorists who have striven *to elevate plain-chant at the expense of concerted music,* he is the most adroit, and the one whose arguing is the most captious.'

At one of the performances of the Mass in a hall of the Menu-Plaisirs, Paris, Hummel was present, who at this period in the French capital had been welcomed with open arms by Cherubini. At the end of the concert, that great master of church-music turned to Cherubini in a transport of enthusiasm, and said, 'C'est de l'or que votre messe.'[7] At another time, when it was given in the same place, the entire

[7] Fétis, *Biog. Univ.* vol. i. art. 'Cherubini.'

hall resounded with universal acclamation. As a mark of his appreciation of this, the eleventh and (if the second Requiem be excluded) the last Mass of Cherubini, Charles X. raised him to the grade of Officer in the Legion of Honour.

CHAPTER VI.

1825–1830.

Cherubini and Mendelssohn—Berlioz enters the Conservatoire—Antagonism between him and Cherubini—Their first interview and subsequent relations — O Salutaris for Boieldieu's marriage — Cherubini's quartets—Baillot and the one in E flat—Abolition of the King's chapel.

IN the autumn of 1825—not, as has been sometimes stated, in 1824—Mendelssohn, at this time a boy of fifteen, came with his father to Paris, with the view of seeing Cherubini. The father particularly wished to ask advice as to his son taking up music as a profession. Cherubini read over some of Mendelssohn's works, and, with many other Parisian artistes, heard him play the pianoforte part in one of his quartets. Then the stern oracle spoke: 'Ce garçon est riche, il fera bien, il fait même déjà bien; mais il dépense trop à son argent, il met trop d'étoffe dans son habit.' He added, by way of advice against the over-tailoring, and as further encouragement in a musical career: 'Je lui parlerai, alors il fera bien.' Cherubini's criticism was not generally favourable to rising talent, so that his praise for Mendelssohn was espe-

cially gratifying. Auber and Halévy were less fortunate than the young German in getting their master's approval. Mendelssohn, however, very rudely compared Cherubini to a 'burnt-out volcano, which flashes forth flame occasionally, but is completely covered with ashes and stones.'[1] The only other record of further intercourse between the two is contained in a letter of Mendelssohn from Paris, dated Dec. 20, 1831. 'The day before yesterday I paid two musical visits to the grumbling Cherubini and the kind Herz.'

In September 1825, the King of Prussia, says the *Biographie Universelle des Contemporains*, sent Cherubini a diamond ring, accompanied by an autograph letter, in token of satisfaction at a Mass composed for him by the latter. I do not know what Mass this could be, unless the *Petite Messe de la Ste. Trinité*, of which there is no mention in Cherubini's catalogue.

In 1826, Cherubini was further gratified by the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt sending him his Order of Merit.

It was in 1826 that Berlioz entered the Conservatoire and found a friend in Lesueur, but far from one in Cherubini, who seems to have had a special dislike to him. Berlioz has told us a good deal about

[1] Devrient's *Recollections of Mendelssohn*, and *Göthe and Mendelssohn.*

his relations with Cherubini; but if he throws a light on the weak side of the latter's character, he himself does not shine as a pattern of discretion and good sense. 'Another feather in the cap of this turbulent youngster,' says the *Edinburgh Review*, speaking of Berlioz and his memoirs, 'here set forth with great complacency by himself, was his quarrel with Cherubini, who had just entered on his duties as Director of the Conservatoire, and had there established a system of order eminently necessary to the well-being of that school, which conduced in great measure to its value and excellence as a great European establishment. The Italian was not the most amiable of men; but an enthusiastic neophyte might have endured the strictness in authority of a musician who could write *Les Deux Journées*, and that grandest of modern classical operas, *Medée*. The anecdote here told only makes the scholar's insolence, not the master's punctiliousness, ridiculous. Berlioz rejoices in detailing the revenges with which, in after-life, he was able to commemorate this petty quarrel. But, from first to last, he was more willing to provoke than disarm opposition. His father, who bore his absurdities and violences with wonderful patience, was in the end disappointed, and wearied into leaving him to his own resources.'[2]

[2] January No., 1870, p. 47.

Cherubini was aware that Berlioz had not followed the usual routine at the Conservatoire before entering Lesueur's class for composition, and so made him first of all enter that of Counterpoint and Fugue under Reicha, which in the Conservatoire studies preceded the class of composition.[3] Berlioz did not wait long before he had his first interview with Cherubini. 'Scarcely come to the direction of the Conservatoire,' says Berlioz, 'Cherubini, in taking Perne's place, who had just died, wished to mark his accession by an unknown rigour in the interior organisation of the school, where puritanical strictness was not exactly the order of the day. In order to make the intercourse between the pupils of both sexes impossible outside the surveillance of the professors, he gave orders that the men should enter by the door in the Faubourg Poissonnière, and the women by that in the Rue Bergère, these different entrances being placed at the two opposite extremities of the building. In betaking myself one morning to the library, ignorant of the moral decree that had just been promulgated, I entered, according to my custom, by the door in the Rue Bergère, the feminine door, and was about arriving at the library, when a servant, stopping me in the middle of the court, wished to make me go out, to return to the same point

[3] Berlioz's *Mémoires*, p. 38.

where I now was, by entering at the masculine gate. I considered this so ridiculous that I sent the livery Argus about his business, and pursued my way. The rogue wished to pay his court to his new master by showing himself as strict as the latter was. He did not, therefore, consider himself beaten, but ran to tell the circumstance to the director. For a quarter of an hour I was absorbed in reading *Alceste*, not thinking any more about this incident, when Cherubini, followed by my denouncer, entered the reading-room, his countenance more cadaverous, his hair more erect, his eyes more malicious, his step more abrupt than usual. He made the tour of the table on which several readers were leaning their elbows; after successively scrutinising them all, the servant, stopping before me, cried out, "Le voilà!" Cherubini was in such a rage that he remained for a moment without articulating a word: "Ah, ah, ah, ah! c'est vous," he said at length with his Italian accent, which made his fury the more comical; "c'est vous qui entrez par la porte, qué-qué-qué zé ne veux pas qu'on passe!" "Sir, I did not know of your prohibition; another time I will conform myself to it." "Une autre fois! une autre fois! Qué-qué-qué vénez-vous faire ici?" "You see, sir, for what; I come here to study Glück's scores." "Et qu'est-ce qué, qu'est ce qué-qué-qué vous regardent les partitions de Glück?

et qui vous a permis dé vénir à-à-à la bibliothèque?" "Sir" (I began to lose my sang-froid), "Glück's scores are the most beautiful I know of in dramatic music, and I have no need of anybody's leave to come and study here. The library of the Conservatoire is open to the public from ten o'clock till three. I have the right to make use of it." "Lé-lé-lé-lé droit?" "Yes, sir." "Zé vous défends d'y revenir, moi!" "I shall return to it nevertheless." "Co-comme—comment—comment vous appelez-vous?" cried he, trembling with rage; and I, in my turn, turning pale: "Sir! perhaps my name will be known to you some of these days, but as for to-day. . . you sha'n't know it!" "Arrête, a-a-arrête-le, Hottin" (the servant was so called), "qué-qué-qué zé lé fasse zeter en prison!" The two of them thereupon proceeded, to the great consternation of the assistants, to pursue me round the table, upsetting stools and desks, without, however, being able to reach me, and I finished by taking to flight in my race, while shouting out these words, with a burst of laughter, to my persecutor: "You shall neither have me nor my name, and I will soon return here to study again Glück's scores." There,' continues Berlioz, 'that is how my first interview passed with Cherubini. I do not know whether he remembered it when I was afterwards presented to him in a more official manner. In any case he was

pleasant enough twelve years afterwards, and in spite of him I became custodian, and at last librarian, of that very library from which he had wished to chase me. . . As to Hottin, he is now my garçon d'orchestre, and most devoted, and the most furious partisan for my music; he even pretended, during the last few years of Cherubini's life, that there was only myself fit to take the place of the illustrious master in the direction of the Conservatoire. On this point, however, M. Auber was not of his way of thinking. I shall have other similar anecdotes to tell of Cherubini, in which it will be seen that if he made me swallow small snakes,[4] I have thrown at him some rattle-snakes in return, whose sting has made him smart.'[5] A year after this, Berlioz tells us, he entered Lesueur's class. 'Lesueur,' says Berlioz, 'seeing that my studies in harmony were enough advanced, wished to set my position right in the Conservatoire. He spoke about it to Cherubini, then director of that establishment, and I was admitted. Very fortunately he did not propose on this occasion to present me to the terrible author of *Medée.*'

Many times, says Fétis, Berlioz went through the preparatory examination for the 'concours' or com-

[4] 'Avaler des couleuvres,' *i.e.* to have vexations thrust upon you without your daring to complain, to be forced to pocket affronts.

[5] *Mémoires*, p. 32.

petitions among the pupils, which were under the direction of the Institute, without being admitted to them. On one occasion the following subject for illustration was given from Tasso: Hermione, leaving Clorinda, but disguised in the latter's dress, goes out from Jerusalem, to carry to the wounded Tancred the care and attention of her faithful but unfortunate love. Berlioz essayed this subject, and at the words,

> 'Dieu des Chrétiens, toi j'ignore,
> Toi que j'outrageais autrefois,
> Aujourd'hui mon respect t'implore;
> Daigne écouter ma faible voix,'

which were marked, to be set to music as an 'air agité,' he thought that the music should be like a solemn prayer, and composed it accordingly. On the day of the decision as to the successful candidates, Berlioz went down to the Institute, anxious to know what had been the fate of his composition, or, as he expresses it, 'to know whether the painters, sculptors, engravers of medals, and engravers on copperplate had declared me a good or a bad musician. Berlioz happened to come upon Pingard, the porter, who informed him that he (Berlioz) had got the second prize. They conversed further. Berlioz asked him how the séance passed off, to which Pingard replied, 'O, stop, don't speak of it; it's always the same thing. If I had thirty children, may the

devil take me if I would put one into the arts! For I see through it all myself. You don't know what a cursed shop it is. For instance, they give, they even sell their votes among themselves.' Pingard then proceeded to say how once, at the competition of the painters at the Institute, he heard M. Lethière beg Cherubini's vote for one of his friends. 'We are old friends,' said M. Lethière; 'you won't refuse me this. Besides, my friend has talent; his painting is very good.' 'Non, non, non, je ne veux pas, je ne veux pas,' replied Cherubini; 'ton élève m'avait promis un album que désirait ma femme, et il n'a pas seulement dessiné un arbre pour elle. Je ne lui donne pas ma voix.' 'Ah, it's very wrong of you,' rejoined M. Lethière. 'I vote for yours, you know, and you don't wish to vote for mine.' 'Non, je ne veux pas.' 'Then I will do your album myself, there; I can say nothing better than that.' 'Ah, c'est différent. Comment l'appelles-tu ton élève? J'oublie toujours son nom; donne-moi aussi son prénom, et le numéro du tableau, pour que je ne confonde pas. Je vais écrire tout celà.' 'Pingard.' 'Monsieur.' 'Un papier et un crayon.' 'Voilà, monsieur.' Pingard went on to tell Berlioz that Cherubini and Lethière then went to the window, wrote down three words, and that he heard Cherubini say: 'C'est bon! il a ma voix.' Berlioz remarked on what Pingard had

told him, that it was abominable; but proceeded to question Pingard more closely as to the fate of his own work and what passed. Pingard repeated that he (Berlioz) had taken the second prize, and continues as follows: 'When M. Dupont had sung your cantata, they began to write down their bulletins for voting, and I carried the voting *hurne*' (Pingard will put an 'h' to 'urn'). 'There was a musician at my side, who spoke in a low tone to an architect, and said to him, "Look here; that fellow there will never do anything; don't give him your vote, c'est un jeune homme perdu. He only admires the *dévergondage* of Beethoven. They'll never make him re-enter the right path." "But do you think so?" said the architect. "O, it's very certain; besides, ask our illustrious Cherubini. You do not doubt his experience, I hope; he will tell you just what I have said, that this young man is mad, that Beethoven has troubled his brains." When I presented the *hurne* to the architect, I saw that he gave his vote to No. 4 instead of giving it you, et voilà—all of a sudden one of the musicians got up and said, "Gentlemen, before going on further, I ought to remind you that, in the second piece of the score we have just heard sung, there is a very ingenious piece of workmanship in the instrumentation, which the piano cannot render, and which would produce a

great effect.[6] It is well to be told of this." "What the devil do you come bawling out to us for!" replied another musician. "Your pupil has not conformed himself to the programme; instead of an air agité, he has written two, and in the middle he has added a prayer which he ought not to have done. The instructions cannot be thus despised; an example must be made of him." "O, that's too strong—what does M. le Secrétaire perpétuel say?" "I think it's a little severe, and that your pupil should be forgiven the license he has allowed himself. But it is important that the jury be enlightened on this species of merit you have signalised, and which the execution on the piano prevents us from perceiving." "Non, non, ce n'est pas vrai," said Cherubini; "ce prétendu effet d'instrumentation n'existe pas; ce n'est qu'un fouillis auquel on ne comprend rien, et qui serait détestable à l'orchestre." "Ma foi! do you hear that?" cried the painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers. "We cannot appreciate what we hear, and as for the rest, if you are not agreed—" "Ah, oui!" "Ah, non!" "Mais, mon Dieu!" "Eh, que diable!" "Je vous dis que!" "Allons donc!" At last they

[6] It is Berlioz's complaint, that for giving the orchestral accompaniments a piano only was used by the academicians. All this story seems to me incredible on the face of it. I cannot believe that Pingard could remember accurately the talk of scientific musicians, or understand the point of their praise or blame.

all called out at once, and thus tired themselves out. M. Regnault and two other painters hurried off, saying they declined to give an opinion, and would not vote. Then the bulletins in the *hurne* were counted, and you were short of two votes. Voilà, pourquoi vous n'avez que le second prix.'[7]

As regards this account of the Academy's proceedings, of course it depends on how much credence should be given to the porter Pingard; and that, probably, ought to be very little. In any case it is ridiculous that any others than the musical members should give their votes on the merits of musical compositions. Castil-Blaze comments severely on the ignorance even of a director of the Beaux-Arts, who, addressing the author of *Démophon*, *Lodoïska*, *Elisa*, *Medée*, *Les Deux Journées*, *Anacréon*, *Faniska*, and *Les Abencérages*, said: 'Monsieur Cherubini, vous qui faites si bien les messes, les vêpres, ne devriez-vous pas essayer enfin de composer un opéra?'

Berlioz says of his own attacks on the Academy: 'The liberty I have used on this subject has led Cherubini—the most academic of academicians, past, present, and future, and the one who was most violently hurt at my remarks—to say that, in attacking the Academy, *I was beating my nurse.* Had I not

[7] *Mémoires*, p. 86. Two or three years after this Berlioz got the first prize.

obtained the prize, he could not have taxed me with this ingratitude, but I should have passed with him and many others for an unsuccessful candidate taking vengeance for his defeat.'[8]

As for the above instrumental effect, perhaps it was a pretended one. Cherubini knew best about that. Berlioz at another time tells us that he determined to give a concert entirely of his own compositions. There was no difficulty in procuring instrumentalists, since so many of them were his personal friends, and it was agreed on all hands that the best place for holding the concert was the chief concert-hall of the Conservatoire. The authorisation of the superintendent of the Fine Arts, M. Sosthène de Larochefoucault, minister of the king's household, had to be obtained, and also, as a matter of courtesy, the concurrence of Cherubini. The one was obtained without difficulty, not so the other. 'Vous voulez donner un concert?' Cherùbini said softly to Berlioz. 'Oui, monsieur.' 'Il faut la permission du surintendant des Beaux-Arts pour cela.' 'I have it.' 'M. de Larossefoucault y consent?' 'Oui, monsieur.' 'Mais-mais-mais zé n'y consens pas moi; é-é-é zé m'oppose à ce qu'on vous prête la salle.' 'Yet you have not any reason, sir, for refusing it me, as the Conservatoire is not using it

[8] *Mémoires*, p. 80.

now, and for fifteen days it will be quite free.' 'Mais qué zé vous dis qué ze né veux pas que vous donniez cé concert. Tout le monde est à la campagne, et vous né ferez pas dé récette.' 'I do not count upon gaining by it. The only object of this concert is to make me known.' 'Il n'y a pas de nécessité qu'on vous connaisse! D'ailleurs pour les frais il faut de l'arzent! Vous en avez donc?' . . . 'Oui, monsieur.' 'A-a-ah! Et qué-qué-qué voulez-vous faire entendre dans ce concert?' 'Two overtures, fragments of an opera, my cantata, the *Death of Orpheus*.' 'Cette cantate du concours qué ze né veux pas! elle est mauvaise, elle-elle-elle né peut pas s'exécuter.' 'You have so judged it, sir, but I am very glad to judge of it in my turn. If a bad pianist cannot accompany it, that does not prove that it would be unplayable for a good orchestra.' 'C'est une insulte alors, qué-qué-qué vous voulez faire à l'Académie?' 'It is simply an experience, sir. If, as is probable, the Academy had reason for declaring my score unplayable, it is clear they will not play it. If, on the contrary, it should be deceived in this respect, it will be said that I profited by its airs, and that, after the competition, I corrected the work.' 'Vous né pouvez donner votre concert qu'un Dimansse.' 'I will give it on a Sunday.' 'Mais les employés de la salle, les con-

trôleurs, les ouvreuses qui sont tous attassés au Conservatoire, n'ont qué cé zour-là pour sé réposer, vous voulez donc, les faire mourir de fatigue, ces pauvres zens, les-les-les faire mourir?' 'Doubtless you are joking, sir; these poor people, who inspire you with such pity, are enchanted, on the contrary, to find an occasion to gain some money, and you would do wrong in taking it away from them.' '*Zé* né veux pas! zé né veux pas! et ze vais écrire au surintendant pour qu'il vous retire son autorisation.' 'You are very kind, sir; but M. de Larochefoucault will not fail to keep his word. Besides, I mean to write to him, too, for my own part, in order to send him an exact reproduction of the conversation I have just had the honour to hold with you. He will thus be able to appreciate your reasons and mine.'

Berlioz then says in his *Memoirs:* 'I sent in fact what has just been read here. I knew several years afterwards, through one of the secretaries of the office of the Beaux-Arts, that my dialogue-letter had made the superintendent laugh even to tears. The tenderness of Cherubini for the poor employés of the Conservatoire, whom "je voulais faire mourir de fatigue," by my concert, appeared to him altogether as touching as could be. He also answered me at once, as every man of good sense would do, and in giving me a renewal of his authorisation, added

these words, "I commission you to show this letter to M. Cherubini, who has received, as regards you, the necessary orders." Without losing a minute, after receiving the official mandate, I ran to the Conservatoire, and in presenting it to the director said: "Sir, do you wish to read this?" Cherubini takes the paper, reads it attentively, reads it over again, and pale as he was, becomes even sallower, and returns it to me without saying a single word. This was the first rattlesnake that reached him from my hand, as an answer to the serpent he had made me swallow in hunting me out of the library at the time of our first interview. I left him with a certain amount of satisfaction, on my part, murmuring, and, irreverently enough, mimicking, his soft language: "Allons, monsieur le directeur, ce n'est qu'un petit serpent bien zentil, avalez-le agréablement; é dé la douceur, dé la douceur! Nous en verrons bien d'autres, peut-être si vous né mé laissez pas tranquille."[9] The poor pianist alluded to had to play the accompaniment to *Orphée déchiré par les Bacchantes* at the rehearsal when there was of course no band, and as he could not struggle through the music, Cherubini, Paër, Lesueur, Berton, Boieldieu, and Catel put Berlioz out of the competition by declaring his work unplayable.'[10] Cherubini was much annoyed at

[9] *Mémoires*, p. 68. [10] Ib. p. 47.

this time, 1830, with the talk and controversy excited by Berlioz in Paris, his startling theories, extravagant adulation of Beethoven, and bold independent writings. His works were often unintelligible both to those who played them and those who heard them. As autocrat at the French capital in musical matters, Cherubini looked upon the heretic as an intruder upon his kingdom, and it perhaps aroused his envy to see so much made of a youth who only dated his existence from 1803. 'It is obvious,' says Berlioz, 'how these heterodox questions, raised apropos of myself, and all the noise of which I was the cause, must have vexed Cherubini. His allies had conveyed him an account of the last repetition of the abominable symphony; the next day he passed before the door of the concert-hall at the moment when the public were entering it, when some one stopped him and said, "Eh bien, Monsieur Cherubini, are you not coming to hear Berlioz's new composition?" "Je n'ai pas besoin d'aller savoir comment il né faut pas faire," he replied, avec l'air d'un chat auquel on veut faire avaler la moutarde. Ce fut bien pis, après le succès du concert; il semblait qu'il eût avalé la moutarde. He spoke no more, he yawned. At the end of a few days he sent for me: "Vous allez partir pour l'Italie?" he said. "Yes, sir."—"On va vous effacer des rezistres du Con-

servatoire, vos études sont finis. Mais il me semble qué-qué-qué vous deviez venir mé faire une visite. On-on-on-on-né sort pas d'ici comme d'une écurie!" . . . I was on the point of replying, "Why not, since we are treated here like horses;" but I had the good sense to contain myself, and even to assure our amiable director that I had never dreamt of leaving Paris without coming to say good-bye, and to thank him for all his kindness.'[11] Berlioz proceeded to Rome (1830), where, he says, he had leisure to forget the graciousness of the good Cherubini, as well as 'the sharp iron lance-thrusts' of the Chevalier François Boieldieu.

In 1832, Berlioz returned from Italy, having been away but eighteen months. 'On arriving in Paris,' he says, 'one of my first visits was to Cherubini. I found him excessively aged and enfeebled. He received me with an affection which I had never remarked in his character. This contrast to his former sentiments towards myself sadly moved me; I felt disarmed. "Ah, mon Dieu," I said to myself, on finding a Cherubini so different from the one I had known, "the poor man is going to die." As will soon be seen, I did not wait long before I received from him signs of life which completely reassured me on this point.'[12] Berlioz speaks further on

[11] *Mémoires*, p. 111. [12] Ib. p. 183.

of his Requiem being a little innocent snake for Cherubini, the latter making him swallow 'its twin sister' in the following circumstance. A place as professor of harmony at the Conservatoire was vacant; and one of Berlioz's friends, without deluding himself with the notion that he would be sure to succeed, managed to get Berlioz on the list of candidates for the appointment. Berlioz also wrote himself to Cherubini, who, on receiving his letter, sent for him: 'Vous vous présentez pour la classe d'harmonie?' said Cherubini, as amicably and gently as he could. 'Yes, sir,' said Berlioz. 'Ah,' said Cherubini, 'c-c'est qué . . . vous l'aurez cette classe . . . votre réputation maintenant . . . vos relations . . .' 'All the better,' replied Berlioz; 'I have asked for it in order to get it.' 'Oui, mais . . . mais c'est que ça me tracasse. . . . C'est que ze voudrais la donner à un autre.' 'In that case, sir, I proceed to withdraw my demand.' 'Non, non ze ne veux pas, parcé qué, voyez-vous l'on dirait, que c'est moi qué ze souis la cause que vous êtes retiré.' 'Then I remain in the ranks.' 'Mais qué ze vous dis que vous l'aurez la place, si vous persistez et . . . ze né vous la destinais pas.' 'What, however, am I to do?' 'Vous savez qu'il faut . . . il faut . . . il faut être pianiste pour enseigner l'harmonie au Conservatoire; vous le savez, mon ser.' 'You must be a pianist?' said

Berlioz. 'Ah, I was far from doubting it. Very well, there's an excellent reason. I will write to you that, not being a pianist, I cannot aspire to be professor of harmony at the Conservatoire, and that I withdraw my demand.' — 'Oui, mon ser. Mais-mais-mais zé ne souis par la cause de votre. . .' 'No, sir, far from it; I must retire altogether, naturally, having had the stupidity to forget that to teach harmony you must be a pianist.' 'Oui, mon ser. Venez m'embrassez; vous savez comme ze vous aime.' 'Ah, yes, sir, I know it.' 'And,' says Berlioz, 'he embraced me, in fact, with a tenderness truly paternal. I went away; I addressed to him my notice of withdrawal, and, eight days afterwards, he gave the place to one called Bienaimé, who does not play the piano a bit more than I do. There, that is what is called a trick well executed, and I was the first to laugh at it heartily. The reader must admire my reticence for not having replied to Cherubini, "You ought not then to be able to teach harmony yourself, sir;" for neither was the great master himself a pianist at all.'[18] 'I regret,' adds Berlioz, 'to have soon afterwards, and quite involuntarily, wounded my illustrious friend in the most cruel manner.' But more of this later.

Such is the record afforded us by Berlioz of his immediate relations with Cherubini, which is to be

[18] *Mémoires*, p. 204.

taken *cum grano salis.* I confess to a great distrust of his statements, for he almost confesses his passion for revenge on Cherubini. Being a truly great man, Cherubini could certainly have afforded to be above any jealousy; if, indeed, the author of *Les Deux Journées* and the Mass in D minor really was jealous of Berlioz, which the latter delights in supposing, although it seems highly improbable.

It was in 1827 that Halévy's *Pygmalion* received Cherubini's commendation, though the work was never finished, the composer losing heart at the idea of bringing it before the public. In the same year an O salutaris, without accompaniment, composed by Cherubini on the 9th of January, as he tells us, 'expressly for the marriage of Boieldieu at the church, celebrated on the 23d of the same month, was afterwards executed at the chapel with accompaniments.' Cherubini was on very familiar terms with Boieldieu, as the following letter shows, referring to the libretto of some intended opera to be composed by Boieldieu:

'Le Vendredi (no date).
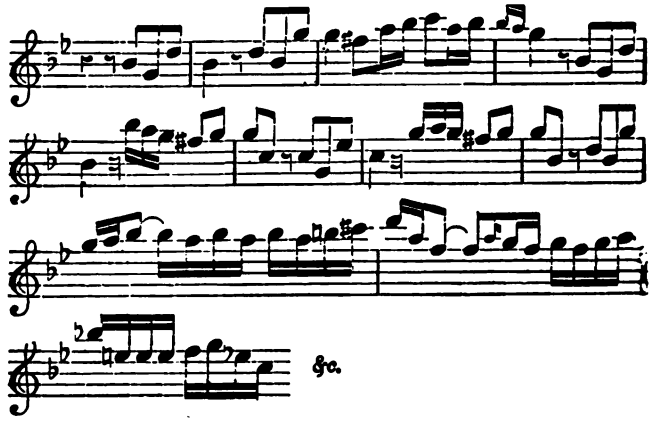
'Monsieur Boieldieu,—' J'avais formé le projet ce matin vous voir en sortant du Conservatoire, mon bon ami, mais la pluie, à mon regret, m'en a empêché. Je voulais d'abord savoir pour moi-même comment vous vous portez, et vous parler ensuite du poëme qu'on a lu hier au jury. Je profite de mon fils, qui va ce

soir vous voir, pour vous écrire, et vous faire remettre ma lettre par lui. Je l'ai chargé de me donner de vos nouvelles que j'espère être encore meilleures que celles que vous m'avez données vous-même hier. Je vais à présent vous entretenir de *La Cour d'amour du Roi René*. C'est une très jolie pièce, que nous avons écouté avec beaucoup de plaisir, par lui; elle gagnera beaucoup avec quelques légères corrections que Lubbard se chargera de faire connaître à l'auteur. Le sujet est musical, et procurera à faire briller votre charmant et beau talent. Tout ce que je crains, et ce doute est le seul que j'ai, c'est que le genre ne soit pas dans le goût actuel qui n'est plus accoutumé aux Troubadours, et à leurs amours, au surplus ma crainte n'est peut-être assez fondée. Car votre aimable musique peut réchauffer et vivifier ce qu'il y aurait de trop mielleux dans le caractère de la pièce. C'est à vous, cher ami, à faire vos réflexions; je vous répète encore que le poëme est joli, et le dénouement est heureux. Bon jour; ma femme vous dit bien des choses, ainsi qu'à la vôtre. J'en fait autant, et en vous embrassant je suis tout à vous, L. CHERUBINI.
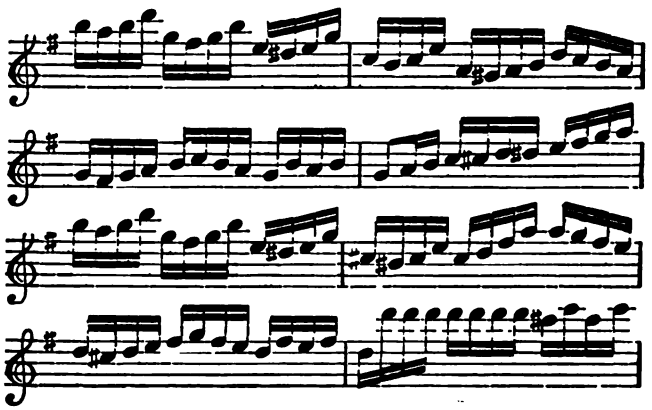
'Attendu que pour la séance de la section qui devait avoir lieu hier il n'y avait de présents que Lesueur, Berton, M. Pastorel et moi, nous avons cru devoir la remettre, et nous n'avons rien fait. J'espère vous voir demain à l'Institut.'

Baillot about this time was famous for his quartet parties; amongst those who assisted at them we find Guynemer (second violin), Tariot, St. Laurent (tenors), Lamare, Norblin (violoncelli), as well as Vidal, Mendelssohn, Lipinski, Kummer, Bohrer, Schumann, Sauzay, Urban, Mialle, and Vaslin. He now drew out from the shelf Cherubini's wonderful quartet in E flat, composed some years before, but never performed. It was universally admired. In Germany quartet parties were formed, and Cherubini's work was performed with applause before a distinguished audience of connoisseurs. Mendelssohn took to it immensely, playing the tenor part in it. The quartet in E flat was the signal of Cherubini's entrance upon a new field of composition. Speaking of Cherubini's six quartets, Fétis observes: 'These compositions are of a very high order; Cherubini has here a style of his own, as in all his works; he imitates neither the manner of Haydn nor that of Mozart, nor that of Beethoven.' We learn from Spohr that Cherubini knew nothing of those masters' quartets when writing the quartet in E flat. Schumann remarks: 'Now comes Cherubini, an artiste who has grown gray in the highest aristocracy of art; and even now, at his advanced age, the greatest contrapuntist of the day—the refined, learned, and interesting Italian, whom I often feel tempted to compare with Dante for his stern reserve
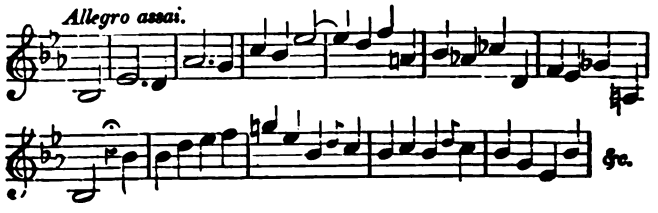
and force of character.' The quartet in E flat is long, but every movement is full of life. Schumann goes on to speak of the 'scherzo with its fanciful Spanish subject,



the extraordinary trio,



and lastly the finale, sparkling like a diamond when you shake it.'[13]



The reception of the quartet in E flat induced Cherubini to turn to his symphony in D, written in London, which was altered in this year into a quartet, with a new adagio, written in the March of 1829. Of this work the well-known quartet in C, the second of its author's works of that class, Schumann says: 'A few dry bars, the work of the intellect alone, there are, as in most of Cherubini's works; but even in these there is always something interesting in the passage, some ingenious contrivance or

[13] Mr. G. A. Macfarren has an unfavourable opinion of the quartets. He says: 'These quartets (in E flat and C) were published with a third, and dedicated to the eminent violinist to whose playing is due the good effect they made. Their merit entitles them to no distinction, and it is scarcely to be supposed that his several subsequent works of the same class which have not been printed can possess any greater interest, since these prove the author's entire want of feeling for the style, and aptitude for the form of instrumental chamber music.' *Imperial Dictionary*, p. 1013.

The quartet in E flat was last publicly performed in London on the 11th of January 1869, at a Monday Popular Concert, with Herr Joachim, Herr L. Ries, Mr. Zerbini, and Signor Piatti as executants.

imitation, something to think about. There is most spirit in the scherzo and last movement, which are both full of wonderful life. The adagio has a striking individual A minor character, something romantic and Provençalish. After hearing it several times, its charms grow, and it closes in such a manner as to make you begin listening again, though knowing that the end is near at hand.'

These two quartets, together with the third in D minor, were published and dedicated to Baillot in 1835. There still remain three unpublished.

On the 25th of July 1830, the Royal Chapel choir sang its last Mass, and at St. Cloud its last vespers; and all the artistes belonging to it were discharged on reduced pensions. Truly, as Castil-Blaze observes, the cannon of the 27th of July was as sad for music as that of the 10th of August had been; for it was in the July revolution of 1830 that the King's Chapel was abolished.

CHAPTER VII.

1830–1836.

Cherubini at Catel's funeral—The pasticcio *La Marquise de Brinvilliers*—Choron, Reicha—*Ali Baba*, Cherubini's last opera—Intended visit to Italy—At Boieldieu's funeral—Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue—The second Requiem in D minor, Cherubini's last Mass.

WITH the abolition of the King's Chapel, Cherubini lost his post there as composer, and now wrote but little.

On the 29th of November 1830, Catel died, and at his funeral, after Berton[1] had spoken, Cherubini followed in these words: 'Lorsque la mort enlève à la société et aux arts un homme de talent, dont la carrière a été poussée jusqu'à un âge très-avancé, on doit, sans doute, le regretter et s'en affliger; mais quand une fin prématurée frappe dans la force de l'âge celui qui possède un talent distingué, et qui est doué d'ailleurs des vertus morales qui caractérisent le meilleur des hommes, on doit le regretter et le

[1] Halévy, in his *Derniers Souvenirs*, says that Cherubini was present at Berton's funeral on Friday, 26th April 1830. As Berton died on the 22d of April 1844, this could not be so. If the son is meant, he died in July 1831.

pleurer davantage : tel est M. Catel, notre aimé confrère, dont nous deplorons la perte. Sa carrière musicale, remarquable par les ouvrages qu'il a composés, dignes de servir de modèles aux jeunes compositeurs sont à coup sûr des titres qui font honneur à son siècle, et qui ne seront point oubliés ; mais ce qui honorera le plus sa mémoire, ce sont les qualités de son cœur et de son caractère. Il est impossible de pousser plus loin qu'il ne l'a fait, sans calcul et sans ostentation, l'attachement pour ses amis et les sentiments de la reconnaissance qu'il a constamment conservés particulièrement pour l'un d'entre eux, duquel il ne s'est jamais séparé, de cet ami qui l'avait recueilli et assisté dans sa jeunesse, et qui, comme en agirait un père à l'égard de son propre fils, lui a ouvert l'honorable carrière musicale qu'il a parcourue et dans laquelle il s'est toujours dignement conduit ; car, modeste pour son compte, admirant le talent de ses rivaux, jamais il n'a été dominé par un sentiment de jalousie pour leurs succès. Après avoir payé un juste tribut au talent et aux excellentes qualités de notre cher confrère, il ne me reste plus qu'à adresser mes derniers adieux à mon ancien ami. Adieu donc, Catel ! Je ne te verrai plus, mais ne t'oublierai jamais ! Je me rappellerai sans cesse les douces relations que nous avons eues ensemble, cimentées par l'amitié inaltérable que tu m'avais inspirée, et que

je t'avais vouée! Adieu pour la dernière fois, mon bien aimé Catel! l'instant n'est peut-être pas éloigné où j'irai te rejoindre.'[2]

In 1831 Cherubini wrote the Introduction to the opera entitled *La Marquise de Brinvilliers*, finished on the 29th of September, and 'which,' observes Castil-Blaze, 'is distinguished by a vigour of colour, an elegance of style, and a flower of melody, which does Cherubini great honour.' But although Batton, Berton, Carafa, Auber, Cherubini, Blangini, Boieldieu, Hérold, and Paër coalesced to write the *Marquise de Brinvilliers*, which was represented at the Opéra Comique, this extraordinary assemblage of talent could not write a popular work. The public, since Handel's time, has generally set its mind against pasticcios, and after this essay no one will be so bold as to try the experiment again. Fortunately, there is nothing to tempt composers to it, who very justly prefer to be independent in their work. Cherubini had brought in the study of Palestrina, and at this time he was ably seconded by Choron, with whom, as well as Reicha, he often carried on lively discussions on music, and at whose academy admirable performances of works rarely heard in France took place; such as Marcello's Psalms, various works of Jomelli, Mozart, Durante, Haydn, and Glück, the

[2] Collection of Funeral Speeches by members of the French Institute.

oratorios of Handel, the Miserere of Allegri, and the Stabat Mater of Palestrina. It was a noble attempt in the cause of classical music; but the Parisians, like the Athenians of old, are pleased with anything new, and what is new soon becomes old, and is laid aside on the shelf.

Cherubini gives us the following account of *Ali Baba*, his last opera: 'An opera which I began long ago, in three acts, and which I finished in four acts, with a prologue, for the Royal Academy of Music. It was represented at that theatre on the 22d of July in this year (1833).' It will be remembered that during the revolution he had written an opera in three acts called *Kourkourgi*, but the libretto by Duveyrier Mélesville the elder was ridiculous, and the work was never performed. His friends, knowing the many beauties that the music contained, urged him to set it in order. Scribe and Mélesville the younger had both heard a very original trio of sleepers in the work, and had wished to make it known to the public. But through Auber's mediation, an entire new libretto from the tale in the Arabian Nights was now written by the two authors for *Ali Baba*. So vigorously did Cherubini set himself to work that in a short time the score reached a thousand pages, and little of the original work remained; but he had not much confidence in its success, in

its remodelled state, and suspected that M. Véron, the manager of the Grand Opéra, had only accepted it out of respect and deference to himself. His feelings of impatience and anxiety were clearly seen; for after the last general rehearsal he left for Versailles, having carefully calculated beforehand the duration of the acts and entr'actes. When the clock of the palace at Versailles struck eight o'clock in the evening of the day of *Ali Baba's* first representation, Cherubini pulled out his watch, and said, 'Maintenant on commence l'ouverture.' Every hour, or rather at every act, he looked at his watch. At half-past eleven *Ali Baba* was over, according to his watch, 'which,' said he, 'allait très bien et marquait l'heure de l'opéra.' The old man then went to bed and slept peacefully, but did not return to Paris until he had received a reassuring despatch, and never once went to see *Ali Baba* performed—never even spoke of it, except in order to say, 'Il est trop vieux pour vivre longtemps. Il avait quarante ans en venant au monde.'[1] Some said: 'Cherubini has outlived himself;' and Arnold tells us that hundreds of people were driven away by the big drum and cymbals, which drowned all the beauties of the piece. 'I assisted in the pit of the Opera-house,' says Berlioz, 'at the first representation of

[1] Halévy's *Derniers Souvenirs*, p. 166.

his (Cherubini's) work, *Ali Baba.* This score, all the world then agreed, is one of Cherubini's tamest and emptiest. Towards the end of the first act, fatigued at having heard nothing striking, I could not restrain myself from saying loud enough to be heard by my neighbours: "I give twenty francs for an idea!" In the middle of the second act, always beguiled by the same musical "mirage," I went on with my bidding by saying: "Forty francs for an idea!" The finale began: "Eighty francs for an idea!" The finale over, I got up, exclaiming these last words: "Ah, ma foi, I'm not rich enough—I give it up!' and I went away. Two or three young people, sitting near me on the same bench, looked at me indignantly. They were Conservatoire pupils, who had places there in order to admire profitably their director. They did not fail—I knew a little later—to go the very next day and tell him of my insolent bidding at a price, and my discouragement, still more insolent. Cherubini was so much the more outraged that, after having said to me, 'Vous savez comme ze vous aime,' he should, without doubt, have to find me, as was to be expected, horribly ungrateful. This time it was not a question of snakes; I tallied more with one of those venomous asps whose bites are so cruel to self-love. He avoided me.'[4]

[4] *Mémoires*, p. 111.

The success of the work in Paris, indeed, was not great; in Germany, fair. Fétis, who heard it, assures us that it is full of beauty, and that many pieces are worthy of the composer. Cherubini introduced into the work a march from *Faniska*, and the fine bacchanalian scene from his ballet of *Achille*. Clément tells us that one verse in the libretto excited scandal among the purists. The verse was

'Au moka surtout je songeais!'

The chief parts in *Ali Baba* were sustained by Nourrit, Levasseur, Madame Falcon, and Madame Damoreau.

'All competent judges,' says the writer in the *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung*, 'were lost in astonishment at the fact of a composer, whose first works bore the date of 1771, being able, sixty years later, to produce another of such extraordinary freshness and such glowing fancy. Cherubini was seventy-three years of age, but both his head and his heart had remained young, and his latest dramatic production displayed, in conjunction with the maturest knowledge and the most beautiful form, the loveliest blossoms of profound feeling and youthful passion. That the work did not retain its place in the repertory was not astonishing, in the case of a public who were intoxicated by the perfumes arising from the

flowery path which Rossini and his imitators had forced the opera to take.'

M. de Boigne, in his *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra*, gives us an amusing account of it. 'The representations of *Ali Baba* were less gay. In *Ali Baba* everything was wearisome and soporific—poem, music, and ballet; the airs of which, however, were composed by Halévy. Those fastidious forty thieves had better rested eternally buried in their jars, and in the works of Galland. Cherubini, demanding hospitality at the opera for *Ali Baba*, has the same effect with me as Belisarius holding out his helmet to the passers-by. *Ali Baba* is one of those fossilised operas which a director only accepts when they are thrust down his throat by illustrious old age; and for fear of being declared a Vandal, the director had to pass it off for a chef-d'œuvre, and with a loss of fifty to sixty thousand francs. But the public, who were not bound by the same considerations as M. Véron, yawned so much and so widely, under *Ali Baba's* very nose, that real hissing would have spoken less eloquently. The public condemned without appeal, and executed pitilessly those forty thieves who had not stolen anything. Cherubini could not recover from his surprise; he sought everywhere for the cause of *Ali Baba's* failure, everywhere except in his music, and he finished by discovering the key to this mystery

full of horror. "Avec des misérables chœurs comme ceux de l'opéra," said he, "il n'y a pas de succès possible. Jamais je n'ai pu parvenir a faire chanter, ni même à faire marcher en mesure, un seul de mes quarante voleurs." In fact, during the rehearsals the march of the forty thieves had completely absorbed him. He did not cease to tap the floor with his bâton, and to cry: "En mesure, messieurs! . . . messieurs, en mesure!"'

Mendelssohn says in a letter from Dusseldorf, dated Feb. 7th, 1834: 'I have just looked through Cherubini's new opera (*Ali Baba*); and though I was quite enchanted with many parts of it, still I cannot but deeply lament that he so often adopts that new Parisian fashion, as if the instruments were nothing, and the effect everything, flinging about three or four trombones, as if it were the audience who had skins of parchment, instead of the drums; and then, in his finales, he winds up with hideous chords, and a tumult and crash most grievous to listen to. Compare with these, some of his earlier pieces, such as *Lodoïska* and *Medea*, &c. &c., where there is as much difference between brightness and genius, as between a living man and a scarecrow; so I am not surprised that the opera did not please. Those who like the original Cherubini cannot fail to be provoked at the way in which he yields to the fashion of the day,

and to the taste of the public; and those who do not like the original Cherubini find far too much of his own style still left to satisfy them either, no matter what pains he may take to do so—he always peeps forth, the very first three notes. Then they call this "perruque rococo." In a letter to Devrient, intendant of the Berlin Opera, dated February 5, 1834, he says: 'If I were you, I would push forward just now the *Ali Baba* of the old gentleman, and tease the directors till they put it on the stage, where it would fail, as it has done in Paris.'

'This opera,' says Lafage, of *Ali Baba*, 'affords the spectacle full of interest of an old man of seventy-three letting an astonished public hear songs full of grace and freshness, choruses above all praise, instrumental details new and ingenious, and showing everywhere a verve of talent which is rarely found in youth. However, *Ali Baba* had only five representations; the subject was cold, and beneath the reputation of its authors, and the nature of the beauties of the score made it, like all those of Cherubini, more worthy of esteem in the eyes of connoisseurs than those of the public, who found it beyond their capacity to understand it.'

'On the production of Cherubini's last opera,' says Riehl, 'people in France regretted that the old master came two hundred years too late, while Ger-

man musicians glanced with a holy feeling of bashfulness at the finely-written score, as though they had a presentiment that the creations of such a man as Cherubini would first be neglected as unfashionable, to rise up again, at the expiration of a few years, as imperishable works of art.'[5] The theme of Halévy's first article in the *Gazette Musicale de Paris* was an ingenious fiction entitled *Ali Baba et Sainte Cécile*, which served to show the thoughtlessness and injustice of the musical editors of Paris, not one of whom would consent to publish the score of *Ali Baba*. 'This article,' says Pougin, 'in turn felicitous and elegant, depicts well the sentiments of devotion, admiration, and almost filial affection with which the author was animated for his illustrious master; sentiments which he preserved for him during his whole life.'[6]

The overture to *Ali Baba* has always appeared to me almost one of the finest examples of Cherubini's mastery of orchestral effects; in this respect ranking with the overture to *Medea*, *Les Deux Journées*, and *Anacréon*. It is scored for the fullest band; a circumstance which alone gives it a unique distinction among the overtures of the composer. But it is full of genius. The opening subject is vigorous and broad; the clash of cymbals and pause has something

[5] *Musical World*, 1862. *Musikalische Characterkopfe*, Stuttgart, 1860, p. 90, second series.

[6] *Life of Halévy.*

Turkish in it, the triplet passages for the violins are striking, and the melody of the second subject perfectly captivating. The whole is skilfully worked up to an effective, if somewhat noisy climax. Towards the close, a long coda begins with accelerated *tempo* in a *pianissimo* passage for the strings, which never fails of effect.

Cherubini had a great wish to see his country once more. He was to have gone to bring out *Ali Baba* at Marseilles, and this would have been his opportunity for sailing to Italy, seeing at Pisa his younger daughter Zenobia, affianced to Hippolyte Rosellini, revisiting at Florence the familiar scenes of his childhood—the street, the house, where more than seventy years before he had been born—and calling upon Dr. Philip Nesti, professor of mineralogy at the Royal Italian Museum, and son of one of Cherubini's sisters. All this Cherubini planned to do, but it was not fated that he should ever see Italy again;[7] for just as he was on the point of leaving Paris, cholera broke out at Marseilles, and so frustrated, to his disappointment, all his designs.

In the *Gazette Musicale* of the 9th March 1834, Halévy published some lines which served to accom-

[7] Fétis, when mentioning Cherubini's leaving Italy in 1788, says that he never saw Italy again, except once, in a voyage made long afterwards. Fétis, I infer, thought that Cherubini carried out his project in 1834.

pany the autographic reproduction of three of Cherubini's canons, and which were followed in the number of the same journal for the 5th June 1836, by some interesting remarks on the errata in Cherubini's *Treatise of Counterpoint and Fugue.*

On 31st July 1834, Cherubini finished his third quartet in D, which was followed in 1835 by two others, in the keys of E and F respectively. When Baillot in 1834 edited *Les Méthodes de Violon et Violoncello*, Cherubini added bass parts to the various musical examples, which are admirable studies for young virtuosi on those instruments. Cherubini had interested himself at a much earlier period in a somewhat similar undertaking, the *Singing School Tutor* of Mengozzi, Garat, Gossec, and Méhul, aiding those musicians in their work. A medal with Cherubini's effigy, by M. Prudhomme, made its appearance in the July of 1834.

It was in 1834 that Boieldieu died. Cherubini's C minor Requiem was to have been performed at the obsequies; but the Archbishop of Paris interposed, because women would have had to sing it, contrary to the rubrics. 'I shall do one for myself,' Cherubini is reported to have said, half vexed, half in raillery, 'which will play them a good turn, and to which there will be no objection.'[8] Boieldieu's funeral took

[8] Miel, p. 21.

place in October at the church of the Invalides, and, according to Fétis, Cherubini's Requiem was given after all. At the grave, when Garnier and Berton had spoken, Cherubini said:

'Messieurs, il n'y a pas longtemps que nous avons accompagné ici les restes de notre confrère Catel; aujourd'hui nous avons à pleurer la mort prematurée de Boieldieu, mon ami très-cher, dont le beau talent et l'excellent caractère seront pour nous tous une source intarissable de regrets. L'amitie me liait depuis longtemps à cet homme aimable, à ce compositeur distingué; j'ai vu commencer sa carrière musicale qu'il a parcourue dignement en marchant de succès en succès. Je ne nommerai pas ici tous les ouvrages qu'il a composés, car tout le monde les connaît et ne les oubliera pas. C'est la réputation que ses productions lui ont value, qui l'ont conduit à St. Pétersbourg au service de l'empereur de toutes les Russies; ce sont ces mêmes succès qui lui ont ouvert les portes de l'Institut. Il avait été professeur de composition au Conservatoire de musique, place qu'il avait quittée pendant quelque temps, et à laquelle il avait été de nouveau appelé; mais il était déjà frappé de la maladie qui nous l'a enlevé. Je n'ai pas besoin de m'étendre ici sur les éloges qu'il mérite, car qui n'aimait Boieldieu? qui n'admirait et chérissait son talent? Mais je ne puis m'empêcher de marquer tout

ce que sa mort me fait éprouver. Mon chagrin est inexprimable! J'ai perdu un ami, un frère. Je n'ai plus de lui qu'un douloureux souvenir! . . . Moi qui le pleure, je devrais consoler sa compagne, son fils! Hélas! leurs soins affectueux ont adouci ses souffrances, mais ils n'ont pu prolonger ses jours! Adieu, Boieldieu, adieu! . . . Je t'ai précédé dans la vie, dans la carrière que tu as si noblement parcourue, et c'est moi qui te regrette, moi qui pleure aujourd'hui sur la terre qui va se refermer sur toi! car Dieu a voulu que tu arrivasses avant moi au but! . .'

In 1835, the *Juive* of Halévy appeared, and reflected credit on the composer and his master Cherubini. Halévy about this time suffered from an excitability and nervousness which alarmed both himself and his friends. Cherubini, in order to reassure him, reminded him how he himself had been for many years a prey to the same malady. It was in 1835 that the *Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue* by Cherubini, published by Schlesinger, appeared, the letter-press being written by Halévy. As has been already noticed, it appears that Cherubini was not good at oral teaching, being unable to explain himself with a fulness equal to his knowledge. He had never meant to publish a regular treatise, and had his exercises thus placed in a regular form, only by the special desire of his friends. In support of these facts we

have the express and reiterated assertion of Fétis. Speaking of Cherubini's *Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue*, before it was generally known that Halévy had written the letter-press, Mr. G. A. Macfarren writes: 'Admirable as are its rules, and lucid as is their explanation, there is not one of them which is not violated in some or other of the illustrative examples—a fact to induce the supposition that the principles may have been taken from his oral teaching, and examples supplied by one of his pupils, who had a better memory for the rules than capacity for their application; and this at a period when the infirmity of advancing age disinclined the master for his strict revision of the work.'

On the 24th September 1836, Cherubini's second Requiem in D minor for three male voices, which had only been begun in January or February, lay completed at Montlignon. Handel wrote his *Jephtha* when sixty-six years old, and Haydn his *Seasons* when he was sixty-eight; but the production of such a work as this, from a man of seventy-six years of age, is, I take it, a circumstance without a parallel in the annals of musical art.[9] The Dies Iræ was first executed at the fifth concert of the Conservatoire,

[9] Halévy wrote a review of the Requiem in the number of the *Gazette Musicale de Paris* for the 7th of May 1837. I have not been able to see it. See Appendix III.

March 19, 1837. On the 24th following, it was repeated by desire. On the 25th March 1838, the whole work, with Beethoven's fourth symphony and Weber's *Euryanthe* overture, was done in two parts, strangely enough with a violin solo between, composed by Habeneck, and played by Lecointe, one of his pupils.[10]
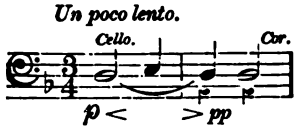
Mendelssohn writes to the Hon. Committee of the Lower Rhine Musical Festival, in a letter dated from Leipsic, Jan. 18, 1838: 'With regard to the second day, I may first inquire whether you intend to apply to Cherubini for his grand Requiem; it must be translated, and is entirely for men's voices; but as it will only last an hour, even less, that would not much matter, and, according to the universal verdict, it is a splendid work.'

'Cherubini,' says another, 'was endowed with manly genius; his strain is broad, round, and soaring heavenward, leaving the earth at an immeasurable distance. This manliness of style and freshness of creation did not abandon him even when near to his grave. His second Requiem, which was his last great work, ranks among his masterpieces, though composed in the seventy-ninth or eightieth year.' It

[10] It was first executed in this country in 1872, and also at the Requiem for Mr. Hope Scott, Q.C., in the spring of 1873; on both occasions at the Catholic church, Farm-street, London.
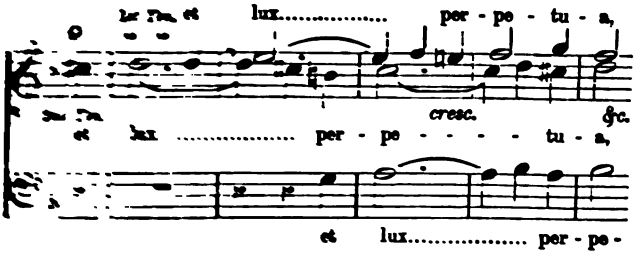
was begun in his seventy-sixth and finished in his seventy-seventh year, he having completed his seventy-sixth year a few days before ending his labours. Cherubini, indeed, reminds us of Zingarelli, who, living till his eighty-sixth year, wrote music three days before his death.

It is impossible to hear or study this almost unapproachable composition without feeling how intimately impressed the author must have been with the whole spirit of prayerful, earnest, mournful supplication implied in the idea of the Christian sacrifice for the dead. The first notes he employs have been consecrated by the usage of centuries to the word 'Requiem.'
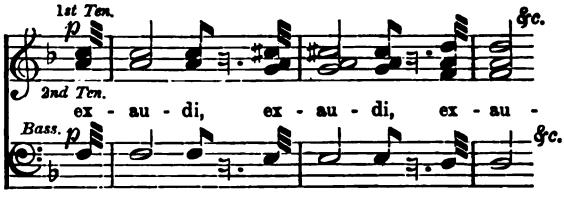


These notes have breathed a prayer of rest for the departed ever since the day when the first Gregorian Mass for the dead was sung. The succession of the four opening notes cannot fail to recall a host of associated memories to all who have become familiarised with the grand strains of the older music. Thus there is a kind of awe-inspiring solemnity in the way in which Cherubini opens the Mass. After twelve bars of symphony the deep bass voices supply

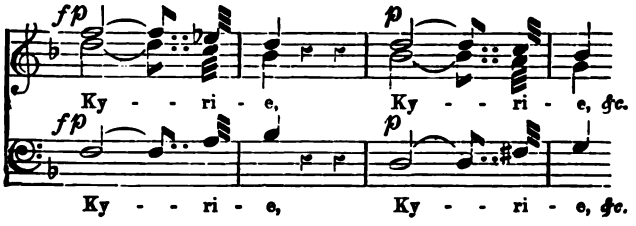
the subject, which is taken up in fugue by each of the succeeding parts, and what may be called the first period ends with a long swelling chord on A, the instruments piling up arpeggio upon arpeggio till the close. Then the light of hope breathes gradually upon the subject, the words 'et lux perpetua' being heralded in by the second tenor, and, as it were, reflected and intensified by the other voices in succession.
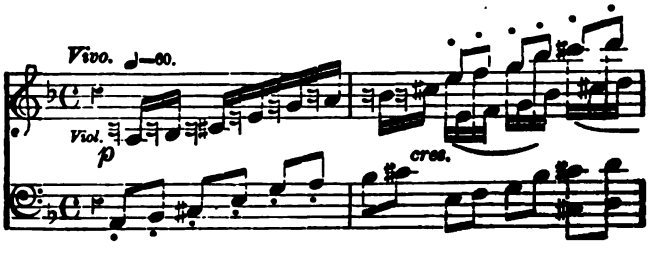


'The short hymnus' is a prayerful subject in which the meaning of the words is as nearly represented by the music as music is capable of representing the meaning of words. 'Exaudi orationem meam;' the passionate intensity of this cry is well expressed by the short sharp demi-semiquaver which initiates each repetition, and the minim and quaver leave room for—nay, almost force—the deep-drawn sigh from the singer between each repetition.

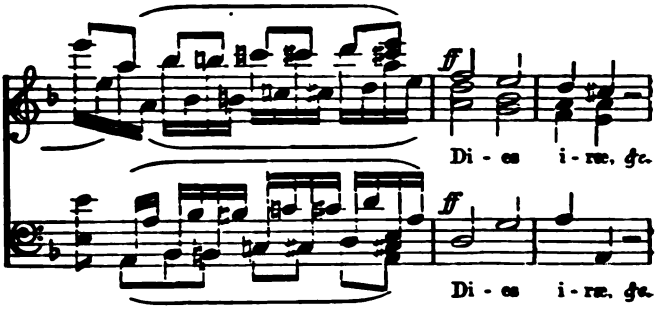


In the Kyrie each of the parts comes as it were in turn before the Lord to supplicate for mercy, the way being led by the first tenor. Towards the close of this movement the hearer cannot fail to be struck by the emphasised repetition of the word 'Kyrie' by all the voices.

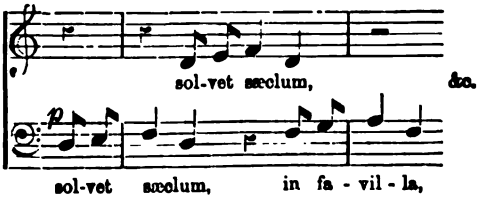


No. 2. The Gradual is a lovely movement in ¾ time, the voices unaccompanied, full of flowing melody, intended doubtless as a foil and contrast to the whirlwind of sound with which the Dies Iræ, No. 3, commences.
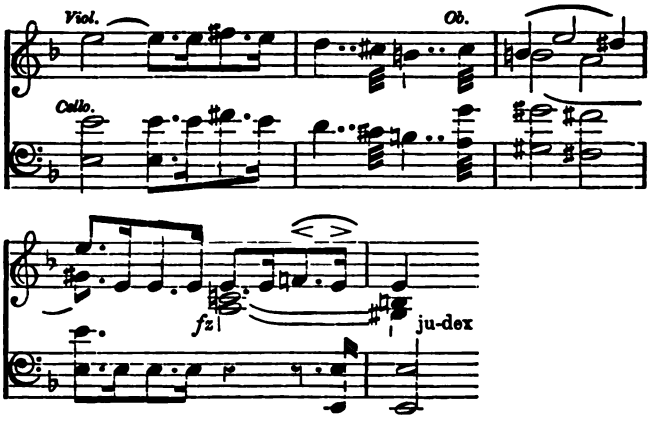




If this sublime sequence had never found a worthy interpreter until Cherubini's time he would most certainly have removed the stigma from his art. Perhaps of all worthy interpreters he has proved himself by this matchless piece the worthiest of all. The three bars of symphony, beginning as they do piano, end in a very hurricane of sound as all the voices crash forth the words 'Dies iræ' in almost despairing cry. 'Solvet sæclum' is sung by the bass, and immediately followed by the tenors, who repeat every four syllables after they have been pronounced by the bass in ascending scale, till the 'tuba mirum.'
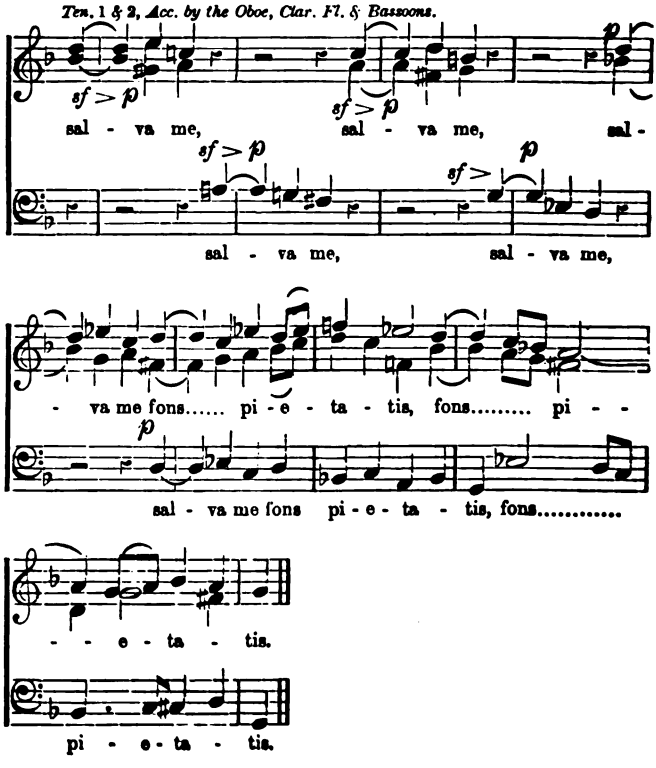


Here, too, the whirlwind of sound reappears, and

the same artifice of short and sharp repetition between tenor and bass, this time in the key of B flat, occurs in the words 'cum resurget,' &c., almost presenting to the eye the opening of the graves and the rising of their dead to judgment. A lovely passage of melodious symphony, beginning in unison for the violin and violoncello, and taken up by the oboe,



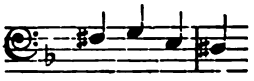
prepares the way for the wonderful piece of declamation confided to the bass, 'judex ergo cum sedebit.' Almost the same phrase occurs before the words 'nil inultum remanebit,' which are followed by that cry of agony 'quid sum miser tunc dicturus.' The movement, 'Rex tremendæ majestatis,' *maestoso*, is very descriptive; it opens with three arpeggio notes by all the stringed instruments, which prepare the ear for the opening chord of A, sustained by all the

voices, who, after pronouncing the word 'Rex' *ff*, as it were, give place to the basses to proclaim the advent of the King of immense majesty, whose Presence is acknowledged and done homage to by all in a passage of great power and grandeur. The act of faith is first proclaimed by the leading tenors, and then taken up with the shouts of acclamation by all the other parts, 'Qui salvandos salvas gratis,'
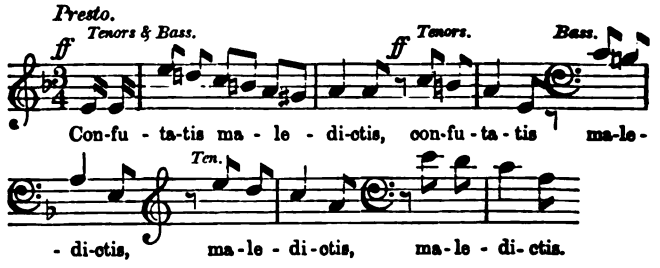


and the supplication which naturally follows as its logical outcome, 'Salva me, fons pietatis,' is one of the loveliest pieces of modulation in the whole work.

In the next movement, $\frac{3}{4}$ time, one of indescribable pathos, the parts each take a separate verse as if each had its own petition to present, its own plea for pardon to urge. The first tenors sing, 'Quærens recordare, Jesu pie;" the second tenors, 'Juste judex;" the basses, 'Quærens me.' And, curiously enough, with such consummate art is this managed, that they seem not to interfere with each other; each succeeds the other at short intervals, one beginning its petition whilst the other parts take breathing time, and are silent. The whole is sustained by a flowing melody of surpassing grace, given chiefly to the violoncellos and basses. All unite in praying to be on that dreadful day admitted into the fold of Christ; 'inter oves locum præsta, statuens in parte dextra,' ends the movement, each of the parts ceasing in turn, the bass being the last to leave off with those wonderful four notes.

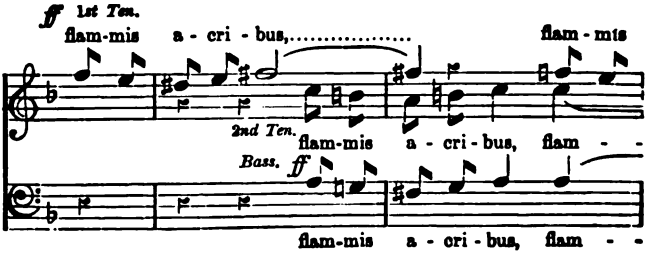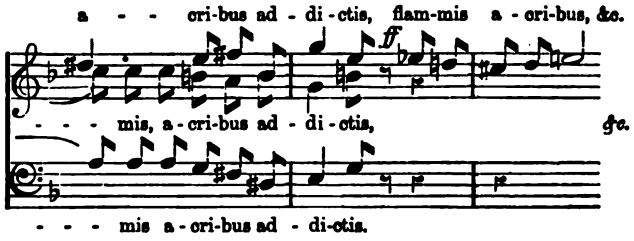


Then, as if the consummation of all had come

upon the world, the *presto* begins with a violin passage which brings before the eyes of the imagination the surging flames springing up from the abyss, and forms a prelude to the raging, despairing cry, in unison, of all the parts, 'Confutatis maledictis,' which breaks off and is again repeated in unison, first by the tenors, then taken up by the bass, mounting at every repetition by a major third; the whole
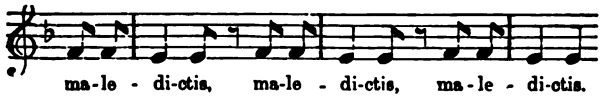


sentiment culminating in a climax of descriptive writing with the words 'flammis acribus,' the torturing, searching nature of the flames being brought home to the sense of hearing in a way which baffles description. Agonised rage, despair, confusion, are
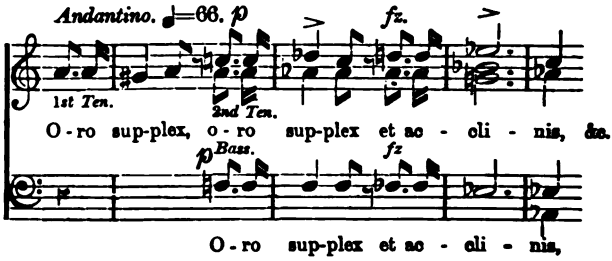




all concentrated in those few bars. The word 'maledictis' is repeated thrice, as the self-pronounced doom of those who are without hope.
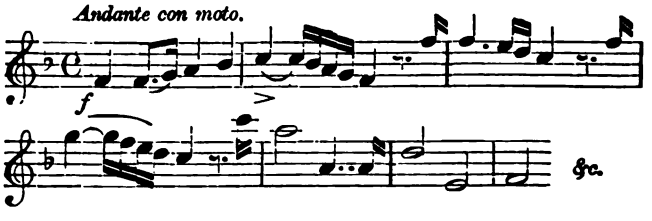


After a pause the saved are heard to pray — to rise, as it were, before the throne of the Judge in prayer—in an unaccompanied song of lovely calm and peace, 'Voca me cum benedictis.' The *andantino*, which follows the old figure, noticed in the last *andantino*, 'quærens,' &c., is again introduced, the movement being given to the violoncellos ; it is the heart-broken wailing of a crushed and contrite supplication, 'Oro supplex, cor contritum quasi cinis,' and presents a most striking piece of modulation, most expressive of the sentiment intended to be conveyed.
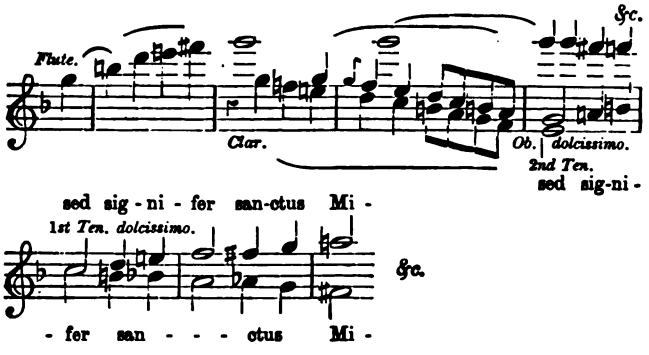


The 'lacrymosa dies illa' is a most plaintive melody, ending with a moving supplication for mercy to be shown to the departed. The 'pie Jesu,' which concludes this masterpiece, is full of calm hope that the prayer for the absent one shall be heard. The sorrow of the bereaved, however, is abiding to the end.

No. 4. The Offertory. The march-like triumph of the opening is quite in keeping with the sentiment conveyed in the prayer. This is addressed



to Jesus Christ the conqueror, the 'Rex gloriæ,' the King of Glory, who triumphed over death; its import is to obtain the deliverance of captives from the prison-house of flame. The prayer that the

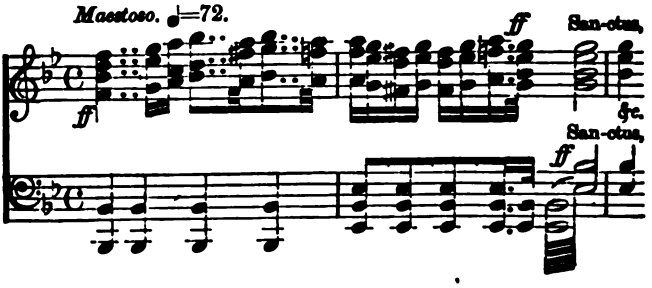
standard-bearer, Michael, may take them into the holy light is accompanied by clarinets, oboes, and flutes, treble instruments, in a strain of wonderful beauty, which continues for twenty-three bars.



The *allegro moderato*, which immediately succeeds, is a specimen of earnest passionate pleading, 'Quam olim Abrahæ promisisti' being repeated in fugue by all the voices; the idea is dwelt upon and expanded still further in the movement which succeeds the intervening peaceful *larghetto*, 'Hostias et preces.' Each group of voices seems to vie with all the rest in enforcing its claim for mercy for the departed. 'Promisisti'—God is held, so to speak, to His word —'Thou hast promised,' being repeated over and over again, as though in literal fulfilment of the injunction of our Lord that we were to succeed by our importunity in prayer.

No. 5. Sanctus. No one who has ever heard the

melodious phrase of symphony which ushers in the voices in the Sanctus can ever forget it. Its value
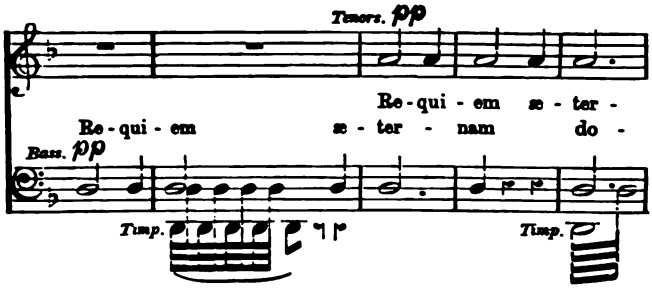


and beauty seem to be enhanced as it is repeated in various forms, while the voices have their own independent work in a passage of great power and majesty. The 'Hosanna,' the first syllable of which is sung to a demi-semiquaver, and the second to a minim, is an outburst which never fails to electrify the hearer.

The words of the Benedictus having been already sung in this movement, the piece after the Elevation is set to the concluding words of the Dies Iræ, 'pie Jesu;' this (No. 6) is a charming movement in $\frac{6}{8}$, written for voices without accompaniment, except here and there, where the clarinet and other wind instruments are introduced between the various phrases to support the intonation of the voices and keep them up to the proper pitch.

No. 7. The Agnus Dei. The introduction which

prepares the way for the voices consists, here as elsewhere in other parts, especially in the Dies Iræ, in a piling up of sound, as it were, which reaches its climax on the fifth bar, the bar during which the voices are pronouncing the holy name of God. The intensity of sound gradually subsides, leaving the voices quite to themselves in the exquisitely tender passage, 'Dona eis requiem.' This treatment of the words occurs three times; the long-drawn-out sweetness of the notes in which 'sempiternam' is sung is very striking. The Communion, 'Lux æterna,' immediately succeeds, and is ushered in by the bass with three notes at the end of the bar. It is a passage of wonderful force. The light which seems to burst in upon the eye is almost too dazzling to bear. Then the motive for hope is beautifully given, 'Quia pius es,' by the three parts in succession, accompanied severally by the oboe, clarinet, and bassoon, each singing the notes of the common chord of B flat, the first tenor commencing on F and ending on D, the second tenor taking up the D and descending to B flat, the basses beginning with B flat and concluding on A. The whole terminates with the words, 'Requiem æternam, dona eis, Domine,' slowly and solemnly chanted by tenors and bass, the bass leading on D, the tenors answering on A.



The persistence of the open fifth for eighteen bars, accompanied as it is at intervals by the rolling of muffled drums, has an inexpressibly mournful and solemn character. On the nineteenth bar the major chord is heard once more, and the tenors, with the cheerful ringing tones of hope and anticipation of answered prayer, once more implore light for the departed spirit. The bass in contrary motion repeats the chord — the cadence lengthens out, swells, and dies away—and then the last notes are heard like the subsidence of a great storm; the descending chromatic passage, with D for the pedal note, may be almost said to be sobbed out by the instruments; one more prolonged roll of the muffled drums; a flute in an ascending arpeggio is answered by a bassoon with descending arpeggio; and all is at rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

1836–1842.

Berlioz's Requiem—Cherubini's Quintet in E minor—Ingres' Portrait —M. Turcas—Death of Cherubini—His obsequies—Honours paid to his memory—Monument at Florence—Conclusion.

EACH year three thousand francs were given out to the French composer, who in competition should be most successful in a musical work. M. Gasparin, Minister of the Interior, secured the performance of Berlioz's Requiem, written for the obsequies of General Damremont, which was eventually executed in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides on the 5th December 1837. 'No sooner,' says Berlioz, 'had the news of the approaching execution of my Requiem in a ceremony grand and official, such as the one in question, been conveyed to Cherubini, than it put him in a fever. It had been for a long time the custom, on similar occasions, to execute one of his two funeral Masses. Such a blow, struck at what he regarded as his right, at his dignity, at his incontestible worth, and at his just claim to its manifestation, in favour of a young man scarcely at the "début" of his career, and who was reputed to have introduced heresy in the school, irritated him deeply. All his friends and pupils, with Halévy at their head, sharing his spite, aimed

respectively at raising the storm, and directing it against me; that is, at dispossessing the young man in favour of the old man. The same evening, I was at the office of the *Journal des Débats*—to the staff of which I had been attached for some little time, and the director of which, M. Bertin, showed me the most active kindness—when Halévy presented himself there. I divined at once the object of his visit. He came to have recourse to the powerful influence of M. Bertin, to aid in the realisation of Cherubini's projects. Meanwhile, a little disconcerted at finding me there, and still more so at the cold air with which M. Bertin and his son Armand received him, he at once altered the direction of his battery. Halévy having followed M. Bertin, the father, into the next room, the door of which remained open, I heard him say that Cherubini was "extraordinarily affected at what had happened, so much so, that he was confined to his bed;" that he, Halévy, came to beg M. Bertin to use his influence to obtain, as a consolation, the Cross of the Legion of Honour, for the illustrious master. The severe voice of M. Bertin then interrupted him with these words: "Yes, my dear Halévy, we will do what you wish, that Cherubini may be accorded a distinction well merited. But if the question is about the Requiem, if some compromise is proposed to Berlioz as to his, and if he has the weakness to yield a hair's

breadth, I will not speak to him again as long as I live." Halévy had to retire with this response, more confused than ever. So the good Cherubini, who had already wished to make me swallow so many small snakes, had to resign himself to receive at my hands a boa-constrictor, which he will never digest.' A little farther on he says: 'And now another intrigue, more skilfully plotted, and of which I do not dare to fathom the dark depth. I accuse no one; I sturdily recount the facts without the least commentary, but with the most scrupulous exactitude.' It seems that Berlioz was informed by General Bernand of the approaching performance of his Requiem, and that M. XX (name not given), who was director of the Beaux-Arts, told Berlioz that Habeneck always directed the official musical festivals; so Berlioz agreed to cede the bâton to Habeneck, though it was the first performance of the Requiem in public. At the concert, Berlioz was seated behind Habeneck. The music commenced, but just as the movement began to expand and enlarge, just when the conductor is everything, Habeneck put down his bâton, took out his snuff-box, and proceeded leisurely to take a pinch of snuff. Berlioz rushed forward at that instant and saved the movement by marking the time with his arm. When the movement was over, Habeneck, who had seen the 'Tuba mirum' thus rescued, remarked to Berlioz:

'What a cold perspiration I was in! Without you we should have been lost.' 'Yes,' said Berlioz, looking at him fixedly, 'I know it well;' and spoke no more. Berlioz asks whether all this was done purposely. 'Could it be possible that this man, in connivance with M. XX, who detested me, and the friends of Cherubini, had dared to meditate and strive to commit so base a wickedness? I do not wish to think it; ... but I have no doubt about it. God forgive me if I do him an injury.'[1]

Berlioz has not a shred of evidence of any conspiracy for so mean a trick having been made by Cherubini's friends. There is an unamiable pretentiousness in his assumption that it would be worth their while to trouble themselves about the great work of the mighty Berlioz.

Some years after this the first musical festival at Lille took place, Habeneck being conductor, who chose for a portion of the programme the 'Lacrymosa,' of Berlioz's Requiem, and a Credo of one of Cherubini's great Masses. Habeneck, taking great pains this time, wrote thus to Berlioz: 'I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you that your "Lacrymosa," perfectly executed, has produced an immense effect. Tout à vous, Habeneck.' This letter was published at Paris by the *Gazette Musicale*. On his return Ha-

[1] Berlioz's *Mémoires*, pp. 199, 200.

beneck went to see Cherubini, and assured him that his Credo also had been 'bien rendu.' 'Yes,' said Cherubini drily, 'but you did not write to me.'

Cherubini must have been close upon his last days, if this circumstance occurred, as Berlioz says, after the previous incidents which took place in 1837. Berlioz is not strong in chronology. His *Memoirs* have few or no dates. Thus he relates all the above circumstances about the first execution of his Requiem before telling us of his having applied for the vacant post for harmony, after which last application, he says, he heard Cherubini's *Ali Baba* at its first performance. Now *Ali Baba* first appeared in 1833, and his own Requiem not till the end of 1837. Again, how could Cherubini refuse Berlioz a post at the Conservatoire in 1833, because he wished to show his spite on account of the performance of a work in preference to his own in 1837? And this is what Berlioz leads us to suppose.[2] Berlioz will not admit that it was owing to incapacity that he was refused, and so, forsooth, it was owing to Cherubini's spite!

'In the winter of 1838,' writes Fétis, 'Cherubini invited a few musicians to his house, and laid before them the quintet which he had just completed. Though the composition was admitted to bear signs

[2] *Mémoires*, p. 205.

of his very advanced age, yet all acknowledged it to be characterised by a freshness of ideas which no person could possibly have believed to be possessed by a man who stood, so to speak, with one foot already in the grave.'

This quintet in E minor, the only one Cherubini ever wrote, was begun on the 30th of July 1837, and finished the 28th of October following. It was preceded by his sixth quartet in A minor, which, though begun on the 4th of July 1835, was not finished until the 22d of July 1837.

Cherubini now retired more and more to the peace of a happy home, where the loving care of his wife, son, and eldest daughter lightened his last years. Moscheles, who saw him in 1839, writes: 'Cherubini, usually not the most courteous of men, was very friendly; we had a good hour's earnest conversation on art matters.[3] He said that, with the exception of his Directorship at the Conservatoire, he had nothing more to do with music; he couldn't write another note; he wasn't strong enough to hear and enjoy musical impressions. I think I might have assured him, without flattery, that he belongs

[3] I am told by Mme. Moscheles that Cherubini was always particularly kind to her husband, at whose house in Paris he heard for the first time the latter's pianoforte 'Sonate Symphonique' (dedicated to Louis Philippe) for four hands, and bestowed the greatest encomiums upon it.

to the few who even in their lifetime have already earned immortality.' Moscheles adds: 'As for my poor Lafont, I saw him lying in his coffin whilst the funeral service was being held in the church of St. Roch; the music was Cherubini's, but without organ accompaniment, to my taste an indispensable adjunct.' I am not aware of any Mass by Cherubini without accompaniment.

The following pleasing incident, which occurred at this time, is told of Cherubini by Elwart. I give it in the latter's own words:

'En 1841 un professeur ayant été nommé au Conservatoire par le ministre de l'intérieur sans avoir été préalablement présenté par le directeur, assisté du conseil d'administration, Cherubini fit venir, dans son cabinet, l'artiste, qui, par des services gratuits antérieurement rendus, était digne de l'emploi nouveau, et lui déclara que, si, dans les 24 heures il n'était pas nommé titulaire d'une classe semblable à celle créée pour X, il donnerait sa démission. Le professeur adjoint, touché de ce procédé le supplia de ne rien faire. Mais Cherubini écrivit au ministre, et le surlendemain le Conservatoire comptait un professeur titulaire de plus, et eut une injustice de moins à deplorer.'

Towards the close of 1841, Ingres, the celebrated artist, painted Cherubini's portrait, which was bought by the king, and is now in the Luxembourg gallery.

It is a beautiful and faithful likeness of the composer, who sent Ingres with his thanks a beautiful canon, set to words of his own, the last piece Cherubini ever wrote.

Miel thus describes the picture of Ingres: 'While seated on a fauteuil, and dressed in the modern fashion, Cherubini directs a glance forwards—that is, a preoccupied one, but in which genius shines. Polymnia, invisible to him, standing upright behind the seat, robed in the severe majesty of ancient costume, with a crown of laurel on her brow, the fingers of the left-hand resting on the strings of the lyre, is stretching out the right-hand over her favourite, and overshadowing him with her protection, expressing by her authoritative mien that this man belongs to her.' Miel adds, 'Composition originale, et mystérieuse, contraste inattendu mais naturel, entre le monde réel et le monde ideal, portrait individuel devenu un sublime tableau d'histoire.'[4]

Cherubini is thus described by one who saw him at this time: 'Although his body was bent under so great a weight of years, his eye was full of fire, his face full of majesty, his forehead full of brightness. It was delightful to behold his waving silvery hair, which thickly covered his head, and played beautifully round his ears and temples.'

A blow came to Cherubini in the death of M.

[4] Miel, p. 28.

Turcas, his son-in-law. It was some time before he regained his cheerfulness. One day Halévy paid a visit to him, when laid up in his room by some slight illness, and complimented the octogenarian, who thought he could prolong his life, on his looks. 'Oh!' he replied, 'I have not ten years more to live.' On the 3d of February Cherubini tendered his resignation as director of the Conservatoire. It was accepted, and Louis Philippe, bent on bestowing a signal mark of his appreciation of such lengthened services in the cause of music, for the first time made a musician Commander of the Legion of Honour. On the 12th March Cherubini grew weaker. On the 15th, surrounded by his wife, son, and daughter, Halévy, Batton, and other intimate friends, and whilst muttering some words which were unintelligible to those about him, he expired, in the eighty-second year of his age.

As Cherubini was a Commander of the Legion of Honour, the funeral took place with much solemnity and with military honours. The procession, joined by no less than three thousand persons, started from the gates of the Conservatoire, and passing along the Boulevards, amidst the grand strains of Cherubini's own funeral march for General Hoche, directed its solemn course to the church of St. Roch. Here Cherubini's second Requiem was performed, by his own dying wish. 'We shall never forget,' says a

writer in the *Athenæum*, speaking of the Mass lately noticed, 'the thrilling effect of his Requiem for three men's voices, executed at his own obsequies at St. Roch in 1842.' When the ceremonial was over, the cortège proceeded to the cemetery of Père la Chaise. Here M. Raoul Rochette, in the name of the Institute, of which Cherubini was a member, Lafont the younger, Halévy, and another from the Conservatoire, representing Cherubini's friends, said successively a few touching words over the deceased; a deluge of rain and hail happened to fall at the time, but so absorbed was each person in listening with religious silence to the various addresses that no one left the scene.[5]

Under the presiding care of the Duc de Coigny a commission was instituted, with the object of raising a rich sepulchral monument to the prince of modern composers for the Church, and, by means of subscriptions received by the Conservatoire, the present handsome tomb, by Leclerc the architect, with a marble medallion and a bas-relief of the head of the Florentine master by Dumont, was erected at Père la Chaise. The Muse is crowning his head with a wreath, and on the pedestal is inscribed, under the heads of 'Musique Religieuse' and 'Musique Dramatique,' Cherubini's chief works, such as the *Messes de Requiem, Messe du sacre de Charles X, Lodo-*

[5] Picchianti, p. 69; Gamucci, p. 49.

iska, Elisa, Medée, Les Deux Journées, Faniska, Les Abencérages, &c.; followed by 'Musique Instrumentale' and 'Œuvres Théoretiques.'

On the morning of the 22d April 1842, the faithful saw suspended, on the chief door of the church of St. Gaetan and St. Michael at Florence, the following inscription: 'His fellow-citizens to Luigi Cherubini, Florentine, Commander of the Legion of Honour, director of the Conservatoire of Music at Paris, where—an octogenarian—he terminated his laborious and illustrious career—a man of antique virtue and spotless character, most profound in the mysteries of harmony—in the art of which he was a master, and especially in sacred music, displaying a powerful genius—in majesty of conception and sublimity of style second to none—the upholder among strangers of the glory of Italy.' The original Italian runs as follows:

A
LUIGI CHERUBINI
FIORENTINO
COMMENDATORE DELLA LEGION D'ONORE
DIRETTORE DEL CONSERVATORIO MUSICALE DI PARIGI
OVE OTTUAGENARIO IL 15 MARZO 1842
TERMINÒ LA SUA LABORIOSA ED ILLUSTRE CARRIERA
UOMO DI ANTICHE VIRTÙ ED INTEMERATI COSTUMI
PROFONDISSIMO NEI MISTERI DELL'ARMONIA
IL QUALE NELL'ARTE DI CHE FU MAESTRO
E MASSIMAMENTE NELLA MUSICA SACRA
SPIEGATO GENIO POTENTE
PER MAESTOSI CONCETTI E SUBLIMITÀ DI STILE
A NESSUNO SECONDO
PRESSO GLI STRANIERI LA GLORIA ITALIANA SOSTENNE
SUOI CONCITTADINI

'While,' says Picchianti, 'the faithful were invited thither by the church-bells to pray for the repose of the illustrious deceased, two to three hundred members of the Musical College made the vaulted roof of the magnificent temple resound with the last inspired strains of music in which this perfect composer had depicted the terrible day of tremendous wrath, and had earnestly begged of the Divine Judge to number him among the blest. And of that immense crowd assembled together, perhaps there was not one man old enough to remember having seen him amongst us, or in a position to recall the affectionate acclamation he had received from his fellow-countrymen, more especially on the occasion of the representation of his opera of *Idalide*, at the great theatre in 1784, with which, without its being foreseen, he bade a last farewell to his native place. From that period Cherubini was but an historical name for Florence, a title of glory that will endure for ages.'[6]

No sooner did the news of Cherubini's death become known than a general anxiety prevailed to do him honour. The municipality of Paris bestowed his name on a new street leading to the great opera-house, and that of Florence did the same with a street in the new quarter of Maglio ;[7] while the name

[6] Picchianti, p. 5. [7] Gamucci.

of Cherubini was conferred on the large and elegant 'Teatro Pagliano' in his native city.[8]

Bartolini some time back had executed a bust of Cherubini, which is an acknowledged masterpiece. Pierre J. David also executed a bust or medallion of him; and a bronze statue was raised to his memory at Florence, with the inscription that was affixed to the door of St. Michael and St. Gaetan. A brilliant revival of *Les Deux Journées* at Paris no less honoured its composer; and, by a strange coincidence, Bouilly, the writer of the book, also an octogenarian, died a month after Cherubini; so that Emile Vanderburch —who, with both of them, was member of the Society d'Enfants d'Apollon, and in the name of that society now offered homage to Cherubini—could say in his elegy that the authors of *Les Deux Journées* had died hand in hand.

The *Athenæum* also mentions some lines of tribute to Cherubini by M. Emile Deschamps, and Kalkbrenner wrote a piece in our composer's honour. Baillot wrote to his brother-in-law, M. Guynemer, in a letter from Paris, dated April 9, 1842: 'I was well assured that you would share in our sorrow on the occasion of the loss we have sustained in the venerable Cherubini. I can say nothing in addition to what you already think and feel on this subject:

[8] Gamucci.

the loss to the musical world is immense. He is fallen yet leaves us time wherein the [illegible] of knowing, under the auspices of genuine [illegible] with him who was the hope, the "last and noblest Roman" in the purely classical style of art. At the funeral services in Paris attended his funeral and it was not without considerable emotion that I beheld amongst them M. Ingres, to whom we are indebted for the finest portrait of our lost friend, a work which is the chef-d'œuvre of his pencil, because inspired by his heart.

'We followed him to his last abode—but he is his abode is no longer on this earth; heaven has set this, received him whose sacred compositions seemed to forestall the harmonies of a better world, and it invite us to render ourselves worthy of being admitted into it.

'Two days ago, April 7, *Les Deux Journées* was performed at the theatre. It was only announced by the bills in the morning, yet the house was crowded. I could not withhold my assistance. The success—a strange expression after forty years of success—was perfect. It was very well acted, and the music was executed with that *ensemble* which cannot be equalled when it proceeds from the unanimity of sentiment and respect, of which we find so few in-

stances in social life. Nothing languished; the actors and the musicians excelled themselves, and the three acts were finished in two hours and twenty minutes. The curtain was afterwards raised to exhibit the bust of Cherubini[9] upon an elevated pedestal, with the actors from the principal theatres ranged around it in costume. The two principal performers of the evening recited some appropriate and very touching verses from the pen of the octogenarian author of *Les Deux Journées*, M. Bouilly. The whole passed off in a style worthy of the occasion, and must have interested even those most indifferent to the beauties of the art, or the triumph of genius. And what music! I longed for you beside me, even while the pleasure, regret, and a tumult of deep emotions had taken such total possession of my poor heart that I tried in vain to stifle them; and you, I know, would have felt as acutely.

'On the same day, April 7, a funeral service for the illustrious dead was to be performed at Pisa. Now all is said; and what remains of this wonderful genius? The admiration of the many, and the affectionate remembrance of the few who loved the man for himself as much as for his great works.'[10]

[9] The well-known masterpiece by Bartolini.

[10] This letter was sent by M. Guynemer for insertion into Mainzer's *Musical Times*: see vol. i. p. 26.

Lesueur felt keenly the loss of his great countryman, and by kindness and sympathy strove to assuage the grief of those who felt the most keenly their bereavement. Writing to Cherubini's widow, he sent her a portrait of the Florentine, as he looked when young, accompanying the gift with the remark: 'Here, my dear madam, is the portrait of a great man, who is as young in your heart as he is in my mind.' On the 7th of October 1843, Raoul Rochette read Cherubini's 'eloge' at the Institute. Lastly, must be mentioned the raising of the monument to Cherubini quite recently, in the church of Sta. Croce, Florence. Ferdinand Morini seems to have taken the initiative in this matter with zeal and energy. A committee was formed, with the Marquis Pompeo Azzolino as President, and the Duke di San Clemente, Professors Avv. Cav. L. F. Casamorata, Olimpo Mariotti, Antonio Marini, Cav. Odoardo Fantachiotti (sculptor), Luigi Picchianti, Cav. Teodulo Mabellini, Cav. Giovacchino Maglioni, Cav. Geremia Sbolci, Alamanno Biagi, Vincenzo Meini, and Cav. Ferdinando Morini as members. In Italy 3000 lire were subscribed, of which King Victor Emmanuel gave 500 lire, Prince Carignano 200, and the Minister of Public Instruction 200. The municipality of Florence gave 500 lire towards the completion of the work. Through the death of the

Marquis Azzolino and Professors Marini and Biagi, the committee underwent some changes; Morini was made president, and nominated Professor Abramo Basevi to the committee; and subsequently, the Marquis Lorenzo Niccolini, the Marquis Luigi Torrigiani, and Professors Cav. Cesare Mussini and Alessandro Biagi. Morini as president, however, found he had too much on his hands, and more particularly associating with himself the Duke di San Clemente and Casamorata, thus formed an executive committee, of which Morini of course was president, while the duke was treasurer, and Casamorata collector. Meini was secretary. Lists of the subscriptions already received were issued to show that no offerings had been less than three lire, and to induce others to come forward with their aid. A sub-committee was formed, with the concurrence of Morini, by Prince Giuseppe Poniatowski at Paris, of which Auber was president; and the Prince and Halévy were vice-presidents; and Berlioz, Carafa, Clapisson, Kastner, Meyerbeer, Reber, Rossi, Ambroise Thomas, and Odoardo Monnais (secretary), members. Two concerts were given respectively at Florence and Paris.

On the 22d of December 1861, the great hall of the Conservatoire was crowded with artists and amateurs to hear one of these concerts, which was

conducted by Tilmant. The programme was as follows:

Overture to *Anacréon*	Cherubini.
Chorus, *Blanche de Provence*, 'Dors, noble enfant'	Cherubini.
Chant des Titans	Rossini.
Fragment from *Prometheus*	Beethoven.
Introduction and Chorus from *Elisa*	Cherubini.
Symphony in C minor	Beethoven.

The *Chant des Titans* was written by Rossini expressly for this concert, as a homage to Cherubini, and this at a time when he had given up musical composition.

On the 8th of December 1865, the second concert took place at Florence. The programme was as follows:

Overture to *Faniska*	Cherubini.
'Da nobis pacem'	Mendelssohn.
Symphony in G minor	Mozart.
Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Mass in D	Beethoven.

Monnais, the French treasurer, in a letter of the 6th of March 1862, announced the result of the French subscriptions, which came to 5212 lire. In the mean time Cesare Ciardi, the flutist, had collected a further sum at St. Petersburg.

The sums collected by the treasurer of the Duke di San Clemente's committee were already paid in the central deposit and savings-bank at Florence. Meanwhile Fantacchiotti, who was to execute the monument, declined receiving any sum for his ser-

vices, and 200 lire were received from the King of Portugal, besides other subscriptions from distinguished persons in Italy, England, France, Russia, and Germany. Morini now placed on the exterior wall of the house in the Via Fiesolana, where Cherubini was born, the following inscription, by Luigi Venturi:

QUI NACQUE IL XIV SETTEMBRE MDCCLX
LUIGI CHERUBINI
CHE SOMMO NEL MAGISTERO DELL' ARMONIA
CREATORE DI SUBLIMI MELODIE RELIGIOSE
RESTAURÒ OGNI MANIERA DI MUSICO STILE
E NELLE RAGIONI DELL' ARTE
SERBÒ PEREGRINO FRA GLI STRANIERI LA GLORIA
DEL PRIMATO ITALIANO

'Here was born, on the 14th of September 1760, Luigi Cherubini, who, supreme in the mastery of harmony, creator of sublime religious melodies, restored every kind of musical style, and, though a wanderer among strangers, preserved in all that concerned his art the glory of Italian primacy.

Fantacchiotti meanwhile was tracing on marble the form of the monument of which he had already made a sketch in chalk, and at his own risk and expense modelled in plaster the grouping. The monument was generally approved of, and Casamorata, in October 1869, stipulated with Fantacchiotti for the contract. The inscription by Venturi ran as follows:

LUIGI CHERUBINI
N. IN FIRENZE IL DÌ XIV SETT. MDCCLX.
M. IN PARIGI IL XV MAR. MDCCCXLII.
SCRITTORE INSUPERATO DI MELODIE RELIGIOSE
ARRICCHÌ DI NUOVE BELLEZZE OGNI MANIERA DI MUSICO STILE
E SALUTATO DA TUTTA EUROPA
SOMMO NEL MAGISTERO DELL' ARTE
EBBE A PARIGI
OVE RESSE IL CONSERVATORIO MUSICALE
GLI ONORI, DOVUTI ALL' INGEGNO ED ALLA VIRTÙ
E DA' SUOI CITTADINI
QUESTO MONUMENTO FRA LE GLORIE ITALIANE
NELL' ANNO MDCCCLXIX.

'Luigi Cherubini, born in Florence the 14th of September 1760, died in Paris, 15th of March 1842; unsurpassed writer of religious melodies, he enriched with new beauties every kind of musical style, and, hailed by all Europe as supreme in the mastery of the art, received at Paris, where he directed the Musical Conservatoire, the honours due to genius and virtue, and from his fellow-citizens this monument, amidst the glories of Italy, in the year 1869.'

Gamucci, to whom I am indebted for nearly all the foregoing details, thus describes the monument, which, after so much zeal and energy, was at length raised to Cherubini, and is now to be seen in the great church of Sta. Croce. Over the inscription, 'on a ribbon entwined with a crown of laurel is seen sculptured the first musical phrase of his famous *Ave Maria*, for soprano. Above the base of the monument is placed the urn of ashes, on which are

two figures, larger than life, representing Music, or its presiding Muse, who is placing a crown on the head of Genius, personified as the winged youth, and who is gently leaning on a column, with his right hand holding a medallion, on which, in bas-relief, is sculptured the effigy of Cherubini. Beautiful, noble, yet sad is the figure at the base representing Music, which, while quietly holding the lyre in her right hand, with the left crowns Genius. . . . . The bashful and modest expression of the countenances, which have nothing earthly or pagan about them, the quiet demeanour of the figures, symbolise, undoubtedly, religious music, in which Cherubini was unapproached. The idea of Fantacchiotti in this beautiful group is clearly displayed. In avoiding that pedantry which desires too much subtlety in the productions of art, and chains the imagination to preëstablished forms, there can be no hesitation in affirming that the conception of Professor Fantacchiotti is beautiful, delicate, tender, and bearing the imprint of novelty, for which the idea he has imagined and drawn with such exquisite art is worthy of sincere praise. The larger figure, representing Music, wears a simple tunic, to which is added a cloak crossed and falling over the left shoulder, disposed with a few folds and with admirable naturalness. The beauty of

the design, the softness of the flesh, the repose, order, and harmony that reign in every portion, make this work worthy of admiration, and ranks Professor Fantacchiotti among the number of the most illustrious sculptors of our time."[11]

'Cherubini,' exclaims M. Adolphe Adam, 'has just breathed his last! He whose works have been the admiration of all Europe is no more! Immortality has commenced for this illustrious man. Few careers of musicians have been so admirable, so well fulfilled. During the second half of the last century, and the first of this, his name has ever been pronounced with respect, his works have been cited as models, and accepted as such by all composers, of whatever school they were; their purity, their classicism, has placed them outside and beyond all the frivolities of fashion, all the concessions made to the taste of the public. Rossini, Auber, and Meyerbeer, those three representatives of the Italian, French, and German schools, bow down equally before this great name, before the celebrated man whose works they have studied; before him whose career had preceded those of all three, perhaps marked out for them their track; before him whose science had shown from afar to genius the road it had to follow. Although

[11] Gamucci, *Alcune Notizie storiche sul Monumento in S. Croce a L. Cherubini.*

Cherubini's style appertains rather to the German school than to the Italian, yet you cannot rank him among the composers of the first of these schools. His manner is less Italian than that of Mozart; it is purer than that of Beethoven; it is rather the resurrection of the old Italian school enriched by the discoveries of modern harmony. I believe that if Palestrina had lived in our own time he would have been a Cherubini; there is the same purity, the same moderation in resource, the same result obtained by causes, so to speak, mysterious. . . . The works of this master will always serve as models, because composed in an exact and almost mathematical plan; exempt therefore from the affected regulations of fashion, they undergo less depreciation than many works otherwise to be recommended on many accounts, but whose forms become antiquated so much the more quickly as they have been received with favour on their first appearance. In fact, compare the first works of Mozart with those of Cherubini, composed nearly at the same period—for the one was born at four years' interval from the other—and you will be surprised to see how much certain passages of Mozart will appear to you old-fashioned, while nothing in Cherubini's works will betray the period at which they were written. It is not astonishing if, with this strictness of form, Cherubini has rarely ob-

tained popular success; in music, successes too great often cost future fame, and posterity knows how to reward us for having refused concessions to the taste of the day; thus it wants great courage to resist such easy conditions for success; it wants a great faith in your art; you must look it full in the face to dare to cultivate it for its own sake.'

'Cherubini,' says M. Kastner,[12] 'has given proof of a fecundity and a universality indeed surprising. It is true to say that during his long career he never knew repose. And why repose when science and inspiration are your humble slaves, and at every hour await your commands?' 'On the other hand,' adds F. Girod, 'it is certain that the great artiste never worked hurriedly or negligently. If all his works are imprinted with the mark of genius, they are none the less remarkable for the pains with which they are elaborated.'

'Cherubini's position,' observes Mr. G. A. Macfarren, 'is unique in the history of his art; actively before the world as a composer for threescore years and ten, his career spans over more vicissitudes in the progress of music than that of any other man. Beginning to write in the same year with Cimarosa, and even earlier than Mozart, and being the contemporary of Verdi and of Wagner, he witnessed almost the

[12] *Sur les Manuscrits Autographes de Cherubini.*

origin of the two modern classic schools of France and Germany, their rise to perfection, and, if not their decline, the arrival of a time when criticism would usurp the place of creation, and when, to propound new rules for art, claims higher consideration than to act according to its ever-unalterable principles. His artistic life was indeed a rainbow based upon the two extremes of modern music, which shed light and glory on the great art-cycle over which it arched. . . His excellence consists in his unswerving earnestness of purpose, in the individuality of his manner, in the vigour of his ideas, in the fluency of his melody, and in the purity of his harmony.'

'Such,' says M. Miel, 'was Cherubini; a colossal and exceptional nature, an incommensurable genius, an existence full of days, of masterpieces, and of glory. Among his rivals he found his most sincere appreciators. The Chevalier Seyfried has recorded in a notice on Beethoven, that that grand musician looked upon Cherubini as the first of his contemporary composers. We will add nothing to this praise; the judgment of such a rival is for Cherubini the voice itself of posterity.'

Bright as was Cherubini's fame during his lifetime, it has been growing steadily and rapidly since his death, and more especially of late years. The place he holds in the history of his art has never

been disputed, and his admirers may justly claim for him the distinction of being not only the greatest contrapuntist of his time, but also of being one, the originality, depth, and pathos of whose inspiration well entitled him to rank amongst the foremost of composers in what may perhaps hereafter shine in history as the golden age of music.

A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE OF CHERUBINI'S WORKS.

THIS has, of course, been compiled almost entirely from Cherubini's own Catalogue of his compositions. Twenty works mentioned in a supplement by the editor of that publication, Bottée de Toulmon, as well as the pieces which Cherubini contributed to Sarti's operas, have been inserted, as far as possible, in their proper places. In an addendum will be found recorded such other works as have various authorities for their existence, though not the authority either of Cherubini himself or that of De Toulmon. The numbering in the original Catalogue, which merely goes according to the amount and distribution of the MSS. about to be disposed of into lots (those works of which the MSS. had been lost not being numbered), has not been followed in the present list. A cross before any work signifies the loss of the MS. at the time of the sale, or that it

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1777.	17.	†Oratorio, name unknown, executed in St. Peter's Church	—
	18.	†Te Deum, for four voices, with acc.	—
1778.	19.	Montes et Colles, for four voices, Bologna	3
	20.	Angelus ad patrem, for five voices	2
	21.	Venit Domine, for six voices	2
	22.	Lauda Jerusalem, for four voices	1
	23.	Lauda Jerusalem, the same, but treated differently	1
	24.	Beati omnes, for four voices	1
	25.	A viro iniquo libera me, for four voices	1
	26.	Expectabo Dominum, for four voices	1
	27.	Petrus Apostolus, for six voices	4
1779.	28.	Vox clamantis, for four voices, Milan	1
	29.	Non confundetur, for four voices	1
	30.	Salva nos, Domine, for four voices	1
	31.	Lumen, for four voices	1
	32.	Ipse invocabit me, for four voices	1
	33.	Leva, Jerusalem, for four voices	2
	34.	Venit et Dominus, for four voices	2
	35.	Expectabo Dominum, for five voices	2
		Nos. 19 to 35 are antiphons on plain chant, à la Palestrina, without acc.	
	36.	†Litanies for four voices, number unknown	—
1780.	37.	Sonata for two organs; copy[2]	17
	38.	Ad cultum fidei, for four voices	1
	39.	Regnavit, exultet, for four voices	1
	40.	Parasti, for two choirs	3
		Nos. 38 to 40 are antiphons without acc., taken from Nos. 22 to 35.	
	41-6.	†Six Sonatas for clavichord, printed at Florence	—
	47.	†Airs in Sartis' operas, mentioned by Cherubini in the notice at the head of his Catalogue; names, amount, and dates unknown	—
	48.	†Il Quinto Fabio, first opera, in three acts, represented for the autumn fair at Alessandria della Paglia[3]	—

[2] Cherubini, all through his Catalogue, makes a clear distinction between 'MS.' and 'copie,' of which the first no doubt means his own autograph MS., otherwise there is no reason why the copy should not be called MS. also.

[3] It has been suggested that by 'Alexandrie-de-la-Paille' the name

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1780.	49.	Tu quella vita in dono, air; full score . . .	18
	50.	Vado a morir, ben mio, rondeau; full score . .	24
	51.	Padre, deh! resta, recitative and air; full score .	23
		Nos. 49 and 51 are pieces in *Quinto Fabio.*	
1781.	52.	Amato padre, addio, recitative and air for a lady; full score, Milan	42
	53.	Se vi giunge il tristo avviso; full score. . .	24
	54.	Caro consorte amato; full score	22
	55.	Distaccati al primo cenno; full score . . .	27
	56.	Questa è causa d' onore; full score . . .	34
	57.	Agitata tutta io sono; full score	28
		Nos. 53 to 57 are comic airs placed in an opera given at Milan.	
	58.†	Motet, for solo, with acc. for Marchesi the singer .	—
	59.	Nemo gaudeat, motet for two choirs, with acc. for two organs; organ copy	41
	60.	Caro padre, air in an opera begun, but not completed, for Venice; full score	27
	61.	Morte, morte fatal, recit. and duet in the same; full score	52
1782.	62.	ARMIDA, second opera, in three acts, represented during the carnival at Florence; full score .	456
	63.	ADRIANO IN SIRIA, third opera, in three acts, represented in the spring for the opening of a new hall at Leghorn; full score; erroneously entitled 'Artaserse' by Fétis, and also 'Adriano in Serva'	400
	64.	Saprò scordarmi ingrata, air added to the above opera for Crescentini the singer: full score .	29
	65.	Solitario bosco ombroso, bass; Florence . .	2
	66.	Compagni, amor lasciate, bass	2
	67.	Il pastor se torna aprile, bass	4
	68.	Io rivedrò sovente, piano	2
		Nos. 65 to 68 are nocturns for two voices.	
	69-74.*	Six Nocturns, printed by Longman and Broderip (26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket, price 10*s.* 6*d.*) in 1786, and dedicated to Signor Corsi, Grand Chamberlain to Leopold II.; piano; printed 12 p.; also Frey, Paris	—

of some theatre at Milan is intended, just as Cherubini speaks of 'Feydeau,' meaning the 'Feydeau Theatre;' but the composer's biographers are surely right in taking him to mean the city of Alessandria.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1782.	75.	Io che languir, for solo; piano	2
	76.	E mentre dolcemente, for solo; piano . . .	2
		Nos. 75 and 76 are nocturns set to *ottava rima* of Marino; piano.	
	77.	Ella dinanzi al petto, for solo, set to *ottava rima* of Tasso for solo; piano	2
	78.	Bella rosa porporina, canzonet for solo; piano .	1
		Nos. 75 to 78 are taken from Nos. 65 to 68.	
	79.	Il Messenzio, fourth opera, in three acts, represented in the autumn at the Pergola, Florence, September 8; full score	540
	80.	Duet in the above opera not executed as here; full score	24
	81-2.	†Two duets, with acc. for two 'cors d'amour' for George Nassau Clavering, third Lord Cowper, Florence	—
	83.	Non bramo il merito, air for Babini the singer, added to the pasticcio of *Semiramide*; full score	12
1783.	84.	Il Quinto Fabio, fifth opera, in three acts, composed in January, and represented at the Argentina Theatre, Rome; full score . . .	520
	85.	Forza è pur bell' idol mio, comic tenor air; full score; Florence	20
	86.	Pensate che la femmina, comic tenor air, full score	16
	87.	†Comic bass air	—
	88.	Ninfa crudel, madrigal for five voices, 'avec la basse continue,' taken from Nos. 22-33, figured bass copy.	24
	89.	Lo Sposo di tre Marito di Nessuna, sixth opera (buffa), in two acts, entitled by Picchianti 'Lo Sposo di tre Donne,' and by the *Harmonicon*, 'Lo Sposo di tre Femmine,' composed and represented in the autumn (at St. Samuel's Theatre), Venice; full score	658
1784.	90-1.	Two new choruses, placed in an oratorio made up of pieces out of Cherubini's operas, executed in the winter at the Jesuits' Church, Florence; full score copy	60
	92.	Tenor air, inserted in an oratorio made up at Florence, doubtless the same as above, men-	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. ms.
1784.		tioned by De Toulmon in his supplement to Cherubini's Catalogue: full score copy . .	45
	93.	L'IDALIDE, seventh opera, in two acts, represented in the winter at the Pergola Theatre; full score	400
	94.	L'ALESSANDRO NELL' INDIE, eighth opera, in two acts, represented at Mantua for the spring fair; full score	420
1785.	95.	In questa guisa, oh Dio! recit. and duet; London; full score copy	51
	96.	Non fidi al mar che freme, air; full score . .	16
	97.	Va cediamo al destin, recit.; full score . .	15
	98.	Che mai feci! finale; full score	28
		Nos. 95 to 98, placed in a pasticcio, called *Il Demetrio*, given in London.	
	99.	Se tutti i mali miei, air; full score copy . .	20
	100.	Frà cento affanni e cento, air; full score copy .	24
		Nos. 99 and 100, placed in an opera given in London.	
	101.	LA FINTA PRINCIPESSA, ninth opera (buffa), in two acts, represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket; full score	528
	102.	Chaconne: full score copy	60
1786.	103.	Al mio bene, al mio tesoro, tenor air; full score copy	27
	104.	Nobile al par che bella, duet; full score copy .	19
	105.	Per salvarti, oh mio tesoro! rondeau; full score copy	20
	106.	Madamina, siete bella, tenor air; full score copy	23
	107.	Assediato è Gibiltera, bass air; full score copy .	30
	108.	Cosa vuole il marchesino, addition to the first finale; full score copy	40
		Nos. 103 to 108, placed in Paisiello's *Il Marchese Tulipano*, given in London.	
	109.	‡A tanto amore, air	—
	110.	‡Another air	—
		Nos. 109 and 110, inserted in another opera.	
	111.	IL GIULIO SABINO, tenth opera, in two acts, represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket; full score; librettist, Metastasio	417
	112.	Amphion, second cantata for the concert of the 'Loge Olympique,' Paris, but never executed; full score copy	153
1787.	113-30.	*Eighteen Romanzas, on Florian's tale of 'Es-	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1787.		tella,' printed at Paris in two parts, piano; in print forty-five pages; taken from Nos. 65-68 .	—
1788.	131.	IFIGENIA IN AULIDE, eleventh opera, in three acts, composed and represented during the winter (at the Royal Theatre), Turin. The air 'A voi torno' was printed in London in 1789, with the parts for piccolo, flute, oboe, viola, horns in A and D, and trombone in D; full score . .	502
	132.	Misera Ifigenia, recit. obbligato in the above opera, but not executed as here; full score .	21
	133.	Sarete alfin contenti, recit. and air for Mdme. Todi, sung by her at a concert of the 'Loge Olympique,' Paris; full score copy . . .	82
	134.	Ma che vi fece, oh stelle, scena and air for Mdlle. Balletti; mentioned by Bottée de Toulmon; exact date of composition unknown; copy .	50
	135.*	DÉMOPHON, twelfth opera, in three acts, represented at the Grand Opera (Académie Royale de Musique) Dec. 5th; full score copy; librettist, Marmontel	770
1789.	136.	Circe, third cantata executed at a concert of the 'Loge Olympique;' full score copy . .	76
	137.	Ti lascio, adorato mio ben, recit. and rondeau; full score	56
	138.	Non sò più dove io sia, recit. and air copy . .	41
	139.	Capriccio, or pianoforte study; piano copy .	38
	140.	D' un alma incostante, air; full score . . .	16
	141.	Mi stà nell' anima, air; full score . . .	11
	142.	Vedrai nel suo bel viso, air; full score . .	35
	143.	Piano, piano, air; full score	34
	144.	Scritti addio, air; full score	31
	145.	Ahi! ho male al core, air; full score . . .	24
	146.	Del caro ben che adoro, air; full score . .	23
	147.	Or m' accorgo dell' errore, air; full score . .	23
	148.	Viva amor, last finale; full score copy . .	34

Nos. 140 to 148, inserted in Paisiello's *La Molinarella* (*Molinara?*), given by the 'Bouffons' at the Tuileries.

	149.	Se del duol che il cor m' affanna, air placed in Guglielmi's *La Pastorella nobile*, given at the Tuileries; full score copy	36

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1790.	150.	The first act of *Marguerite d'Anjou*, an opera begun for Louis XVI. and his Court, at the Tuileries, but never completed, and consisting of the following eight pieces, all in full score:	
		Respires-tu? air	26
		Tout doucement, trio	31
		O reine infortunée! air	26
		Couplets, air	3
		Non, ce n'est pas, air	32
		Princes et rois, air	32
		Ne jugez pas, chorus	14
		Finale	51
	151.	O Salutaris, hymn for three voices, bass; Breuilpont	7
	152.	Domine salvum, hymn for three voices, bass	7
	153.	Adoremus, hymn for three voices, bass	5
	154.	Regina Cœli, hymn for three voices, bass	9
	155.	O Filii, hymn for three voices, bass	7
	156.	D' un dolce amor la face, air; full score; Paris	29
	157.	Che avenne! che fu! duet; full score	42
		Nos. 156 and 157, placed in Paisiello's *La Grotta di Trofonio*, given at the Tuileries.	
	158.	Di valore armato il petto, air; full score	16
	159.	Mirate! oh Dio, mirate! air; full score	24
		Nos. 158 and 159, placed in *Les Deux Jumelles* (Desaugier's *Les Deux Jumeaux de Bergame?*), given at the Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain.	
	160.	Fà ch' io veda il dolce aspetto, air; full score copy	32
	161.	Perdonate mio signore, air; full score copy	16
		Nos. 160 and 161, placed in Paisiello's *La Frascatana*, given at the Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain.	
	162.	Volgi, o cara, amorosetto, air; full score	32
	163.	Cara da voi dipende, quartet; full score	48
	164.	Evviva amore, finale; full score	20
		Nos. 162 to 164, placed in the *Viaggiatori Felici* (probably Anfossi's, though Leo, Piccinni, and Parenti have written works similarly entitled), given at the Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain.	
	165.	Al par dell' onda infida, air; full score	24
	166.	Senza il caro mio tesoro, air; full score	26
	167.	Lungi dal caro bene, air; full score	15
	168.	Son tre, sei, nove, terzetto, full score	36
	169.	Van girando per la testa, air; full score	42

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1790.	170.	Ah generoso amico, recit. obblig.; full score	17
		Nos. 165 to 170, placed in Cimarosa's *Italiana in Londra*, given at the Théâtre de la Foire St. Germain.	
1791.	171-6.	*Six Romanzas, printed at Paris, piano; in print fifteen pages	—
	177.	*Dors, mon enfant, romanza, printed at Paris, piano	2
	178.	*Le portrait de Thémire, rom., printed at Paris, piano copy	2
	179.	*Le veuf inconsolable, rom., printed at Paris, piano copy	2
		Nos. 171 to 179 are taken from Nos. 65 to 68.	
	180.	Moro, manco, air; full score	30
	181.	Fuggite, o donne, amore, air; full score	23
		Nos. 180 and 181, placed in Paisiello's *Il Tamburo Notturno*, given at the Feydeau Theatre.	
	182.	†?*Lodoïska, thirteenth opera, in three acts, represented at the Feydeau Theatre, July 18th; librettist, Fillette Loraux; Imbault, Paris, with a curious old frontispiece, with cherubs playing the overture on harps; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic	—
	183.	A ces traits je connais ta rage, duet in the above opera, but not executed as here; full score	28
	184.	Cette indigne barbarie, air in the above opera, but not used; full score	34
	185.	Penso, rifletto, air placed in *Il Burbero di boncore* (Vincent Martini's 'Il Burbero di Buoncore'?); full score; given by the 'Bouffons' at the Feydeau Theatre	16
	186.	Ti rasserena oh cara, addition to a sextet in *Le Vendemmie* (probably Gazzaniga's, though there is an opera by Parenti similarly entitled), given at the Feydeau Theatre; full score	44
	187.	Quest' è l'ora, recit. obblig., placed in Paisiello's *La Pazza d'Amore*, given at the Feydeau Theatre; full score	20
	188-90.	Three choruses, placed in a piece called *La Mort de Mirabeau*; full score	48
1792.	191.	†?L'Amitié, air for Mdlle. C. T. (Cécile Tourette)	—
	192.	Non ti fidar, o misera, quartet, placed in *Il Don Giovanni* (Gazzaniga's *Il Don Giovanni tena-*	



[illegible]

1793 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1794.		Roy, Paris, 'Elisa, ou le Voyage aux Glaciers du Mont St. Bernard;' represented at the Feydeau Theatre, Dec. 13; librettist, Reveroni St. Cyr; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic; full score	520
1795.	210.*	Hymne du Panthéon, for full chorus; full score, in print 45 pages; exact date of composition unknown; composed, according to Cherubini, at some period between this year and 1798. .	—
	211.	Chant pour le Dix Août (1792), chorus; full score copy; words by Lebrun, of the Institute[4] .	13
	212.	Sixty-five solfeggi for all the keys, for one, two, three, and four voices, begun in this year, and composed progressively up to the editing of the complete edition of the two parts of the Conservatoire solfeggi, which appeared in 1802, under the title of 'Principes élémentaires de Musique, suivis de Solfége, pour servir l'Etude au Conservatoire de Musique,' 4to.; figured basses[5] .	262
1796.	213.	Fragment of a cantata for inaugurating a statue of Apollo, to be placed in a concert-hall; full score	25
1797.	214.†	?*Medée, sixteenth opera, in three acts, represented at the Feydeau Theatre, March 13; full score, in print 300 pages, with alterations in the author's handwriting; librettist, Hoffman; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic	—
	215.	Ode on the 18th Fructidor (the day of the conspiracy of poignards, Sept. 4, 1797); full score	

[4] Cherubini mentions this and seven other Republican pieces, Nos. 206, 207, 211, 215, 216, 222, and 223, all together in the section of his Catalogue for 1795, and after saying that he cannot remember the exact dates of their composition, adds that they were all written between the years 1795 and 1798. If historical dates and Clément's dates of performances are correct, this cannot be accurate as regards some of the pieces, and in placing them I have followed Clément. Arnold and Clément more correctly call the above a piece for the *anniversary* of the 10th of August

[5] In the edition that appeared in 1865, by Baptiste, I find six seven solfeggi by Cherubini, besides those written for all the keys changes of key in the seventh and eighth books.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1797.		copy; sung, according to Castil-Blaze, at the Grand Opera	54
	216	Hymne et Marche funèbre pour la mort du Général Hoche, sung in the Champ de Mars on the 10th Vendémiaire, an 6 (Oct. 1st, 1797), at the state funeral, and also represented at the Grand Opera as a one-act piece, under the title of *Pompe funèbre du Général Hoche*, on the 11th of October, 1797; words by M. J. Chenier: full score copy.	55
	217	Viens voir sur l'écorce légère, romanza, piano .	2
1798	218	Rose par noire perfidie, romanza, piano . .	2
	219	Une chanson pour une fête, romanza, piano .	2
	220	Voyez cette naissante rose, romanza, piano .	1
		Nos. 217 to 220 are taken from Nos. 65 to 68.	
	221	*A collection of 39 figured bass compositions, piano	73
	222	Hymn for the Fête de la Jeunesse, on the 10th Germinal, an 6 (March 30, 1798); full score copy	6
	223	Hymn for the Fête de la Reconnaissance, on the 20th Prairial, an 6 (May 29, 1798); full score copy	7
	224	L'HÔTELLERIE PORTUGAISE, seventeenth opera, in one act, in Germany, 'Der Portugiesische Gastho' represented at the Feydeau Theatre, July [illegible] full score; librettist, Aignan; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, and trio, 'Que [illegible] Ouvrard published	334
1800.	225	La Punition, eighteenth opera, in one act, represented at the Feydeau Theatre, February [illegible] full score, librettist, Desfaucherets .	374
	226	La Prisonnière, pasticcio, in one act, by Cherubini and Kreutzer, and represented at the Montansier Theatre, September 12; full score; librettists, Aug. Lemonchamps, and St. Just . .	56
	227	Two Odes of Anacreon, for solo, set to the Greek	—

* These are perhaps the bass parts contributed by Cherubini to Baillot's [illegible] et Violoncelle in 1835.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1800.	229.*	Les Deux Journées, nineteenth opera, in three acts, styled in Germany the 'Wasserträger,' 'Graf Armand,' and 'Die Tage der Gefahr;' in Italy, 'Il Portator d'acqua' and 'Le Due Giornate;' represented at the Feydeau Theatre, 26th Nivôse, an 8 (Jan. 16), dedicated to Gossec; librettist, Jouy; full score; Gaveaux frères, Paris. With curious old frontispiece (Armand is about to get into the water-cart, the soldier looking the other way); overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic	411
	230.	Epicure, pasticcio, in three acts, by Méhul and Cherubini, represented at the Favart Theatre, 14th March; full score; librettist, Demoustier; overture by Cherubini published . . .	305
	231-2.	Marche du préfet d'Eure-et-Loir, Chartres; Marche pour le retour du préfet après sa tour, née dans le département; taken from Nos. 199, 206, 207, 211, 215, 216, 222, 223, viz. Republican Hymns; Paris	9
1801.	233.	Morceau d'ensemble, chorus added to the second act of the *Deux Journées;* full score copy .	—
	234.	L'Echo, romanza, piano	2
	235.*	Un jour échappé de Cythère, romanza, piano .	1
	236.*	Tu les brisas, ces nœuds charmants, romanza, piano	1
	237.*	Solitario bosco ombroso, nocturn, for two voices, divided into four couplets, piano . . .	2
	238.*	La cintura d'Armida, nocturn ottava rima of Tasso; piano	2

Nos. 234 to 238 taken from Nos. 65 to 68; Nos. 235 to 238 placed successively in a musical journal.

1802.	239-40.	Duet and chorus of a comic opera, name unknown, begun but never completed; full score	33
1803.	241.*	Anacréon, ou L'Amour fugitif, twentieth opera, in two acts, represented at the Grand Opera, October 4th, called by Fétis 'Anacréon chez lui,' and by Picchianti in Italian 'Anacreonte in sua Casa;' full score; librettist, Mendouze.	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1803.		Published at the Magazin de Musique, Rue de la Loi, Paris; Garnier, Lyons; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic . .	607
	242.	Fragment of the above opera not used; full score	36
1804.	243.	Air with couplets, treated in two ways, belonging to the unfinished opera of *Les Arrêts*; full score	13
	244-5.	Two sonatas or studies for the 'cor.,' with acc., 'cor.' and piano	16
	246.	Achille a Scyros, pantomimic ballet, three-fourths of the music by Cherubini; arranged by him for the piano; represented at the Grand Opera, Dec. 18th, librettist, Gardel the younger; full score.	383
1805.	247.*	Chant sur la mort d'Haydn, for three voices, with acc.; originally set to words in honour of Haydn, according to Denne-Baron, and if this is a correct statement, a piece for Haydn's death, four years before that event, is explained; executed in the winter of 1810 at the exercises of the Paris Conservatoire, and subsequently printed. Frey, Paris; full score . . .	63
	248.	Solfeggi for different voices; fig. bass . . .	35
	249-50.	Two entr'actes added to *Lodoïska*, Vienna; full score.	18
	251.	Air for Mme. Campi added to the same; full score	34
	252.	March for wind instruments, for M. le Baron de Braun's private music; full score copy . .	14
	253.	A sonata for a cylinder organ belonging to the Baron de Braun; organ copy	8
1806.	254.*	Faniska, twenty-first opera, in three acts, represented at the Imperial Theatre of the Italian or Carinthian Gate (Kärnthnerthor), Feb. 25; Troupenas, Paris; overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic; full score . .	462
	255.*	Credo for eight voices and organ, finished in this year at Paris, begun in Italy in 1778 and 1779; the fugue at the end is also in the Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue. Peters, Leipsic	—

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1806.	256.	Air to Echo, for a great cylinder, organ called the Panharmonicon, quatuor.	6
	257.	Credimi si mio sole, recit. and air for Crescentini, quatuor	10
1807.	258.	Chorus and melodrama for an opera begun but never completed	12
	259.*	A collection of canons for two, three, and four voices, without acc., composed at various periods between 1779 and this year. Cherubini says that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to give the exact date of any of his canons prior to 1811. Clementi; Twelve canons published by Frey, Paris.	76
1808.	260.	Le Mystère, romanza by Bernard, set to music, June 17th, for Count Metternich, Austrian ambassador; piano	2
	261.	March for wind instruments; full score. . .	—
	262-7.	Six Country Dances; full score. . . .	—
	268.	Minuet; full score.	—
	269.	A dance air; full score.	—
	270-1.	Two romanzas, piano; full score. . . .	—
		Nos. 261 to 270, composed at the castle of Chimay.	
	272.*†	?Mass in F, No. 4, for three voices, with acc.; Kyrie and Gloria at Chimay, the rest finished at Paris in 1809; published in 1810 at the Conservatoire; also by Frey, Paris[7] . . .	—
1809.	273.	March for wind instruments; July 12th, Chimay; full score.	17
	274.	La Rose, romanza; July 12th	2
	275.	Romanza; July 16th.	2
	276-8.	Three country dances; Sept. 21st, 23d, and Oct. 1st; full score	6

[7] The numbering of Cherubini's masses has been incorrect. Granting that the first three masses, written in 1773 and 1774, may be left out of reckoning as being juvenile works, there is no reason for making the Coronation Mass in A No. 3, and the Mass in C No. 4, since the latter mass was written in 1816, the former long afterwards, in 1825. Besides, many masses, such as the first Coronation Mass in G, &c., are completely passed over. All the masses have been numbered here in their proper order.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1809.	279.	PIMMALIONE, twenty-second opera, in one act, represented before the Emperor Napoleon I. and Empress, at the Château des Tuileries Theatre, Paris; full score	424
1810.	280.*	Pianoforte fantasia, January; piano. Taken from No. 260; pub. for the organ by Salvador Cherubini. S. Richault, Paris . . .	4
	281.	Ode for the Emperor Napoleon's Marriage, written in May; full score copy	24
	282.*	Litanie della vergine, for four voices, with instruments, July, for his Highness Prince Esterhazy de Galanta, in the first volume of posthumous works, taken from the répertoire of the ancient Chapelle Royale. Richault, Paris, pianoforte score; full score . . .	47
	283.	LE CRESCENDO, twenty-third opera, in one act, represented at the Opéra Comique, Sept. 1 (the overture is copied); full score	57
	284.	March for wind instuments, Sept. 22, Chimay; full score	2 2
	285.	Dance air, Sept. 24th; full score . . .	4
	286-7.	Two country dances, Oct 6th and 13th, copy; full score. The second of these is copied .	4
	288-9.	Two trios for a fête, Oct. 9th and 12th; full score	27
1811.	290.	Romanza of M. de Nivernois, March 6th, Paris; piano	2
	291.	Stanzas for Isabey's album; piano . . .	2
	292.	Romanza on a child, by Mme. de Genlis, to put in her album, May 14th; copy . . .	4
		Nos. 290 to 292 taken from No. 260.	
	293.	Fragment of a Cantata for the opening of the new Conservatoire Concert-hall; finished May 27; full score	60
	294.	Le Mystère, romanza, for the album of M. Guerin, the painter, June 12th; taken from No. 60	2
	295.*	MASS IN D MINOR, No. 5, for four voices and full orchestra, begun towards the end of March, finished Oct. 7th; Frey, Paris; full score .	263

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1811.	296.	Madrigal for four voices, Nov.; fig. bass . .	27
	297.	Eight-part canon for Neukomm's album, mentioned by De Toulmon	2
1812.	298.	Fifth Cantata, 'Pour la Goguette,' executed at the réunion of Dec. 16th; quatuor . . .	55
1813.	299.*	Les Abencérages, twenty-fourth opera, in three acts, represented at the Grand Opera, April 6th; librettist, Jouy. Begun towards the end of January. Many pieces of the work, says Cherubini, have been printed, but the whole has been published. Thus Mendelssohn says, 'I have got his *Abencérages*.' Overture full score, Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic; full score	357
	300.	La Ressemblance, romanza, for Mme. L., May 9th; piano	2
1814.	301.	March for the National Guard music, Feb. 8th; full score.	4
	302-4.	A trio, 'morceau d'ensemble,' and 'chant guerrier,' in *Bayard à Mézières*, comic pasticcio in one act by Cherubini, Catel, Boieldieu, and Nicolo Isouard; ordered by the Duke of Rovigo on the part of the government. Cherubini says, 'by the police.' Represented at the Opéra Comique, in the Rue Feydeau, Saturday, Feb. 12th.	—
	305.	Pas redoublé for the National Guard music, Feb. 13th; full score	4
	306.	'Chant guerrier,' air, with couplets, inserted in a three-act piece called *La Rançon de Duguesclin*, represented at the Théâtre Français in March or April; full score	6
	307-14.	Eight pieces for wind instruments, for the music of the Prussian Regiment under Colonel Witzleben, viz. pas redoublé, May 24th; do., May 27th; do., do., do., May 30th; do. and two marches, May 31, all for wind instruments; full score	16
	315.	Sixth Cantata, for three voices, with acc., July 20th, for the fête given by the Etat-Major and the superior officers of the Paris garrison to	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
[illegible]		The National and Body Guards of King Louis [illegible]: full score	42
[illegible]		Several Cantatas for several voices, with choruses accompanied, and with accompaniments executed before the Emperor during the fête given by the City of Paris: full score	81
[illegible]		[illegible] quartet in E flat for two voices, viola, and violoncello quartet. Kistner, Leipsic; [illegible] Paris. Dedicated to Baillot . .	28
[illegible]		[illegible] in G begun in February at Paris, finished in March in London for the Philharmonic Society's concert: full score . .	39
[illegible]		[illegible] for the same, begun in March, finished [illegible]: full score	102
[illegible]		[illegible] Cantata 'Inno alla Primavera,' for four voices with music for the same, begun 8th May, [illegible] words by Vestri: A. Petit, Paris; full score	32
[illegible]		[illegible] for Mme. C., composed towards the end of May: full score	2
[illegible]		[illegible] and requiem in St. Louis, August, Paris; full score	35
[illegible]		[illegible] for requiem, Aug.: piano . .	2
[illegible]		Nine Cantatas for several voices, with choruses accompanied, and with grand orchestra, composed for the banquet given by the Royal Guard of the National and Body Guards in the Museum Gallery, and executed in the presence of the King and the royal family. Begun Jan. [illegible], finished 8th: full score	62
[illegible]		*Mass in C, No. 6, for four voices, and with grand orchestra for the King's Chapel, begun in January, finished March 14th: full score; including an offertory, Laudate Dominum, and O Salutaris instead of a Benedictus. Frey, Paris	65
[illegible]		*Three short Kyries: full score . . .	38
[illegible]		Laudate, recit. and chorus: full score . . .	—
[illegible]		Short Sanctus: full score	—

Nos. 126 to 130, for the King's Chapel, and interpolated in fragments of Cherubini's old masses.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1816.	331.*O	Salutaris, for solo second soprano, with acc., for King's Chapel; quatuor and organ; Petit, Paris	3
	332-3.*	Kyrie for two parts, in chorus, another in four parts, both short, for King's Chapel; full score	3
	334.	Kyrie for three voices (and Gloria, same as that in Mass in F, No. 4); full score; mentioned by De Toulmon; for King's Chapel . .	—
	335.	Kyrie for four voices (and Gloria, same as that in the Mass in D minor, No. 5); full score; mentioned by De Toulmon; for the King's Chapel	44
	336.	Kyrie for four voices (and Credo, same as that in the Mass in C, No. 6, No. 325; mentioned by De Toulmon);[8] for the King's Chapel; full score	36
	337.	Kyrie for four voices (and Agnus Dei, the same as that in the Mass in D minor, No. 5); mentioned by De Toulmon. By the 'deuxième messe à 4 voix' he has been taken to mean the D minor Mass. For the King's Chapel; full score	19
	338.	Mass in E flat, No. 7; mentioned by De Toulmon; for the King's Chapel; full score. Gloria same as No. 347	62
	339.	Kyrie for tenors and basses, for the King's Chapel; full score	3
	340.	Crux alma veneranda, hymn, trio in *Faniska*, arranged for two soprani and a tenor; full score; mentioned by De Toulmon . . .	7

[8] The Credo, he says, was published in the fourth 'Messe Solennelle' for four voices. This is somewhat ambiguous, but De Toulmon, doubtless following the incorrect enumeration, means the Mass in C. The term 'messe solennelle' is used so indifferently by Cherubini (as, for instance, when he speaks of the great Mass in D minor, only once casually alluding to it as a 'messe solennelle'), that it has been discarded in the present Catalogue. The 'Missa Solemnis,' in ecclesiastical terminology, is such a Mass as, on account of the fulness of its ceremonial (including, of course, music), is specially appropriate to the more solemn festivals of the Church, and requires the celebrant to be assisted by a deacon and subdeacon.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS
1816.	341.	*Pater Noster for four parts; full score; hymn. For the King's Chapel. Petit, Paris (organ and orchestra; Schott, Mayence. One of the collection of six known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées'	9
	342.	O Salutaris, for three voices; hymn, solo, with acc.: full score. For the King's Chapel.	3
	343.	*Ecce Panis angelorum, hymn, for tenor solo, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel. Petit, Paris. One of the collection of six pieces known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées'	3
	344.	*Ave Maria, for solo first soprano, with 'cor Anglais;' for the King's Chapel; full score. Petit, Paris. One of the collection of six known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées'	4
	345.	*Lauda Sion, for two sopranì soli, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel. Petit, Paris. One of the collection of six known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées'	11
	346.	Le Mariage de Salomon, tenth cantata, for solo, with chorus and acc., executed 17th June at the Tuileries, at the royal banquet on occasion of the marriage of the Duc de Berri with Princess Caroline of Naples; full score	38
	347.	Gloria in B flat, for four parts, with acc.; for the King's Chapel	—
	348.	*Credo in D, for four parts, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel	36
	349.	*Requiem in C minor, No. 1, for four parts in chorus, written for the anniversary of Louis XVI.'s death, first performed on the 21st of Jan. 1817, at the Abbey Church of St. Denis; full score. For the King's Chapel. Frey, Paris (also chez l'auteur, Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière; en dépôt chez Boieldieu, No. 7 Rue de Richelieu); Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipsic	81
	350-51.	*Ave Verum, trio for three soprani, followed by O Sacrum Convivium in chorus, both with acc., taken from the opera of *Elisa*. For the King's Chapel. Petit, Paris (full orchestra, with cornet solo)	—
1817.	352.	*Iste Dies, four-part chorus, with acc.; fragment	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1817.		added to No. 350 to make a motet of the length customary for a Mass in the King's Chapel, viz. half an hour; full score. Petit, Paris .	29
	353.	*Tantum Ergo, for five parts, with acc.; for the King's Chapel; full score. Petit, Paris (organ acc.); Schott, Mayence. One of the collection of six known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées' . .	8
	354.	*Tantum Ergo, for four parts, with acc.; for the King's Chapel; full score; S. Richault, Paris	6
	355.	*Kyrie for three parts, without soprano, in chorus with acc. For the King's Chapel[9] . . .	4
	356.	O Salutaris, trio for two tenors and bass, with acc.; for the King's Chapel; bassoon and violoncello	3
	357.	Agnus Dei, for four parts, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel	7
	358.	*Sanctus and O Salutaris, for solo tenor, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel. Petit, Paris (organ acc.); Schott, Mayence. One of the collection of six known as the 'Hymnes Sacrées'	5
	359.	Gloria in F, for solo, with choruses interspersed, with acc.; for the King's Chapel; full score .	18
	360.	Amour, amour, new air, not yet executed, for *Lodoïska*; full score	8
1818.	361.	*Regina Cœli, for four parts, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel	16
	362.	O Filii, hymn, for four parts; full score. For the King's Chapel	37
	363.	Mass in E, No. 8, for four parts, with acc.; for the King's Chapel; full score . . .	73
	364.	O Salutaris, for four voices, soli and chorus, with acc.; full score. For the King's Chapel .	8
	365-6.	Two pieces for the Conservatoire competition, *i.e.* for the hautboy and the bassoon respectively	—
	367.	'Je ne t'aime plus,' romanza for two voices, Oct. 29; piano; Malabri	2

[9] To be found, says Cherubini, in the Messe Solennelle for three voices (Mass in F? or in A? neither of which he calls solennelle when recording them); hence it may be presumed that this is a new work substituted for the former Kyrie, otherwise Cherubini would not have recorded it, and numbered it 188 in original catalogue.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. ms.
1818.	368.*	Adjutor, motet for Septuagesima Sunday, Paris; full score. For the King's Chapel. Hasslinger, Vienna	42
	369.	Kyrie for four parts; full score; mentioned by De Toulmon	8
1819.	370.	Kyrie, chorus (Christe quartet), and Kyrie, chorus for four voices; for the King's Chapel; full score	19
	371.	Prayer to Bacchus, chant de table, for three voices, without acc.; April 21	2
	372.*	Mass in G (Coronation), No. 9, for four parts in chorus, for the crowning of Louis XVIII.; full score. Published in pianoforte score by Salvador Cherubini. Frey, Paris	104
1820.	373.	Scène de table, for two voices, with pianoforte acc. *ad libitum*, January; piano	5
	374.	Marche funèbre for grand orchestra, March; full score; for the King's Chapel	7
	375.*	In paradisum, chorus in four parts, acc. for grand orchestra; published in pianoforte score by Salvador Cherubini; for the King's Chapel; full score	10
	376.	Litanies of our Lady in C, for four voices, Dec.; acc. for grand orchestra; for the King's Chapel; full score. S. Richault, Paris	47
	377.*	Solfeggo for the vocalisation competition at the Conservatoire[10]	—
	378.	Thirty-eight solfeggi lessons, fig. bass; in print, seventy-two pages; mentioned by De Toulmon; no date given	—
	379.	Domine, Dominus noster, gradual soprano air, with hautboy acc.; obbligato air from *Elisa*, with alterations; for the King's Chapel; full score	10
	380.	Canon for two voices, for Cherubini's own album, Dec. 19th	—

[10] This and the subsequent solfeggi mentioned separately form the collection in the seventh and eighth books of the Conservatoire solfeggi, so they will not individually be numbered here, not even those marked by Cherubini as unpublished, which, being of the same class, have been, or should have been, since included in the published collection.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1821.	381.	The third and last part of *Blanche de Provence*, a one-act pasticcio by Cherubini, Berton, Boieldieu, Kreutzer, and Paër; ordered by the Minister of the King's Household, on occasion of the Duke of Bordeaux's baptism, on the 1st of May 1821, at Notre Dame. *Blanche de Provence* was first performed in the evening at the Court Theatre, and on the 3d of May at the Grand Opera, for which the work had been composed; full score	83
	382.	Eleventh Cantata, for several voices, with choruses interspersed and acc.; executed May 2d at the fête at the Hôtel de Ville, on occasion of the Duke of Bordeaux's baptism; words by Baour-Lormian; full score	90
	383.*	O Salutaris in D, for four voices in chorus, with acc., August; for the King's Chapel; full score, published by S. Cherubini, in pianoforte score; S. Richault, Paris	71
	384.	Agnus Dei in G, for four parts in chorus, with acc., August. For the King's Chapel . .	13
	385.*	Mass in B flat, No. 10, short, and for four voices in chorus, Oct.-Nov.; for the King's Chapel; full score; pianoforte score, S. Richault, Paris	50
1822.	386.	Litanies of Our Lady in E flat, for four parts; full score. For the King's Chapel; mentioned by De Toulmon	35
	387.*	O Fons amoris, hymn for tenor solo, with choruses interspersed, January; for the King's Chapel; full score; Hasslinger, Vienna . . .	26
	388.*	Sanctus in A major, with the Hosanna in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, to be substituted for that in the D minor Mass; full score. The present grand Sanctus? (marked by Cherubini as published)	6
	389-91.*	Pieces for the Conservatoire competition, *i.e.* two solfeggi on all the keys and for singing respectively; (389) a chant pour le concours d'harmonie mis en partition; (390) an air for the hautboy; and (391) one for the clarinet; piano	16

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1822.		Solfeggo in all the keys, for the examination of the Conservatoire students in July; fig. bass .	2
1823.		Solfeggo in several keys, for the examination of the Conservatoire students in January; fig. bass	2
		Solfeggo with changes of key, for the examination of Conservatoire pupils on June 12th; fig. bass	2
	392.†	L'Amant trompé, romanza for Mdlle. C.'s album, July 10th	—
		Solfeggo with changes of key, for competition of Conservatoire pupils on July 11th; fig. bass .	2
		Solfeggo for Conservatoire singing competition on July 13th; fig. bass	2
		Solfeggo for the Conservatoire competition for vocalisation on July 14th; fig. bass . .	2
	393.	Bassoon piece, for the competition on July 18th; fig. bass, with the above solfeggi taken from the first two solfeggi in this section; misprint in catalogue, for 1825 read 1843 . . .	2
	394.	Le bon Medor, romanza for M. Bérat's album, September 2d; piano[11]	2
	395.	Kyrie in C minor, for four parts, for grand orchestra; for the King's Chapel; full score . .	15
	396.	Lætare Jerusalem, motet for Lætare Sunday, recits. and choruses for grand orchestra, Nov. 16; full score; for the King's Chapel . .	62
	397.	Stanzas for the Duke of Angoulême's return, with accompaniment, Nov. 27; taken from No. 48; piano	2
	398.*	Inclina Domine, introit for four parts, with grand orchestra, Dec. 16; for the King's Chapel .	21
1824.	399.	Exaudi Domine, introit for four parts, recit. and chorus; for the King's Chapel; full score; mentioned by De Toulmon	17
	400.*	Adjutor et susceptor meus, chorus; mentioned by De Toulmon; full score	10
	401.	Adoremus, hymn for three tenors soli, in print five pages	—

[11] There is some misprint here in the original Catalogue. We read 'forme recueil avec le No. 276;' there is no such number.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1824.		Solfeggo on all the keys, for examination of Conservatoire pupils on Jan. 14; fig. bass . .	2
		Solfeggo, with changes of key, for ditto, on June 11; fig. bass	2
		Solfeggo, with ditto, for the Conservatoire competition on July 17; fig. bass	2
	402.	Clarinet piece for the competition, July 20; fig. bass	2
1825.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of the Conservatoire classes, Jan. 13th; full score	2
	403.	*Mass in A (Coronation), No. 11, for three parts, for the crowning of Charles X. at Rheims, May 29, finished April 29. Besides the usual portions of a musical Mass, *i.e.* Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, O Salutaris (for Benedictus, according to the French custom, the words of the Benedictus being sung with the Sanctus before, not after, the Elevation), and Agnus Dei, there is an offertory, including the Christum sempiternum in F; Propter veritatem in C; and the Confirma hoc Deus in F; the whole work, with accompaniments for grand orchestra, full score, as also the Communion (instrumental) March; published as a four-part Mass by Novello	80
	404.	Christum sempiternum, offertory; mentioned by De Toulmon, offertory for three voices; not, however, as being the same as that in the above Mass; full score	17
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of the Conservatoire classes, July; fig. bass .	2
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the competition of Prizes at the Conservatoire, composed July 19; fig. bass	2
	405.	Trio for Mme. M. fête, St. Charles's Day, composed Nov. 4, without accompaniment . .	2
1826.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of the Conservatoire classes; fig. bass .	2

No. 405 and above three solfeggi taken from 1st solfeggo in 1825.

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1827.	406.	*O Salutaris, for bass solo, with accompaniment; for the King's Chapel; full score. Published by Salvador Cherubini. S. Richault, Paris, pianoforte score	5
	407.	*O Salutaris, for four voices soli, two tenors and two basses, without accompaniments, finished March 30; published by the same; full score. S. Richault, Paris, pianoforte score . .	3
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for examination of classes, on June 12; fig. bass; taken from 1st solfeggo in 1825	2
1827.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for ditto, in January; taken from No. 494	2
	408.	O Salutaris, for three voices soli, two tenors and a bass, without accompaniment, composed Jan. 9, for Boieldieu's marriage, celebrated at the church on the 23d. This hymn was subsequently executed, with accompaniments, at the Royal Chapel.	4
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for examination of classes, composed 13th June	—
1828.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of classes, composed 22d May; fig. bass .	3
		*Solfeggo for the Solfége competition, composed 16th June; fig. bass	2
		*Solfeggo for the singing competition, composed 3d July; fig. bass	2
	409.	Piece for Baillot's album, 9th Sept.; quatuor .	5
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for examination of classes, on Nov. 30; fig. bass. . . .	2
		No. 409 and the above five solfeggi taken from 1st solfeggo in 1825.	
	410.	O Filii, hymn arranged for solo and chorus; mentioned by De Toulmon	2
1829.	411.	*New Adagio, composed in March, to complete the second quartet in C, composed upon the symphony in G, written in London; quartet. Kistner, Leipsic; Pacini, Paris; dedicated to Baillot	26
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of classes, June 5; fig. bass	2

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1829.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the Solfége competition, composed in July; fig. bass .	2
	412.	Canon for three voices, composed July 4, for Dr. C. of Bologna (given him on the 4th August)	—
	413.	Sciant gentes, motet for Sexagesima Sunday, for four voices, with accompaniment; full score. For the King's Chapel	36
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of classes, Dec. 7; taken from the two solfeggi of 1829; the reference in the original catalogue '127' should be '227;' fig. bass .	2
	414.	Esto mihi, motet for Quinquagesima Sunday, for four voices, with accompaniment; for the King's Chapel; full score	42
1830.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of classes, May 25; fig. bass copy . .	2
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the Solfége competition, June 20; fig. bass copy . .	2
		*Ditto, with ditto, for the examination of classes, Nov. 19; fig. bass copy	3
1831.	415.	New March, substituted for that of the Night Patrol in the third act of *Faniska*, May 15; quat.	2
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for examination of classes, May 13; fig. bass copy; and *ditto, with ditto, for the Solfége competition, 23d June; both taken from the solfeggi of 1830; fig. bass copy	2
	416.	Introduction to *La Marquise de Brinvilliers*, a pasticcio (words by Scribe and Castil-Blaze), by Cherubini, Auber, Batton, Berton, Boieldieu, Blangini, Carafa, Hérold, and Paër, represented at the Opéra Comique, 31st October. Introduction finished 29th September . .	—
1832.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for the examination of classes in December; fig. bass; taken from the solfeggi of 1830	2
1833.	417.	ALI BABA, twenty-fifth opera, in four acts, also entitled 'Hali Baba; ou les Quarante Voleurs,' an	

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. in.
[illegible]		Opera in three acts, begun, says Cherubini, long ago, now completed in four, with a prologue. The work is to some extent founded on *Koura* [illegible], and was represented at the Grand Opera, for which it was written, July 22: full score: [illegible] score. Breitkopf and Härtel. Leipsic. The publishers in Paris refused to [illegible] the whole opera	1000
[illegible]		Solfeggi with changes of key, for the half-yearly examination in December: fig. bass .	2
[illegible]		Canon [illegible] for M. A. de R.'s album, Jan. 20 .	—
[illegible]		Solfeggi with changes of key, for half-yearly examination in June: fig. bass	2
[illegible]		Duet with [illegible] for the competition of July: the [illegible] Nos. 521-2, taken from Nos. 520-22; fig. bass	2
[illegible]		Third quartet in D minor, finished July 31: quartet. Kistner. Leipsic: Pacini, Paris. Performed at Paris	39
[illegible]		Two [illegible] canon for two voices, for Salvador, Jan. 15	—
[illegible]		Fourth quartet in E, begun Sept. 1834, finished [illegible] February 1835: quartet . . .	32
[illegible]		Solfeggi with changes of key, composed March [illegible] half-yearly examination in June; fig. bass and *Duet, with ditto, composed 30th March, for the prize competition in August; the bass both taken from the solfeggi of [illegible]	2
[illegible]		Nouvelles explications d'harmonie pratique dans la composition, examined by De Toulmon: no date given, probably part or whole of Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue: letter-press by Halévy, published in this year. M. Schlesinger, Paris	90
[illegible]		Canon [illegible] for an album, April 16: piano .	2
[illegible]		Fifth quartet in F, begun Feb. 25, finished 28th [illegible] quartet	28
[illegible]		Italian [illegible] for Mme. B.'s album, 20th Sept.; fig. bass copy, Montlignon	2

Year.	No.	Title and Description of the Work.	No. of pp. MS.
1835.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, composed in Nov. for the Dec. examination. Paris. . .	2
1836.		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, composed May 15, for the half-yearly examination; fig. bass .	2
		*Ditto, with ditto, composed June 22, for the prize competition; fig. bass	2
		The above three solfeggi taken from the solfeggi of 1830.	
	426.	*Requiem in D minor, No. 2, for three men's voices (two tenors and one bass), begun in Jan. or Feb., finished at Montlignon, Sept. 24; full score. Dies Iræ, ex. 19th March 1837, at the fifth Conservatoire concert; the whole work, on 25th March 1838. Frey, Paris .	88
1837.	427.	Sixth quartet in A minor, begun 4th July 1835, finished 22d July 1837; quartet. Paris .	30
		*Solfeggo for half-yearly examination of classes in June, composed May 5; fig. bass . . .	2
		*Solfeggo for prize competitions in July; fig. bass	2
		The above two solfeggi taken from the solfeggi of 1830.	
	428.	Quintet in E minor, begun July 30, finished October 28; quintet	50
		*Solfeggo for half-yearly examination of classes in December; fig. bass	2
1838.		*Solfeggo for half-yearly examination of classes in June; fig. bass	2
		*Ditto, for the competition of July; fig. bass .	2
		*Ditto, for half-yearly examination of December; fig. bass	2
		The three solfeggi of this year taken from the solfeggi of 1830.	
1839.	429.	Arietta for an album, 1st Jan. . . .	—
		[Here Cherubini's own record ends, but De Toulmon adds the rest that he composed.]	
		*Solfeggo, with changes of key, for examination in June; fig. bass	2
		*Ditto, with ditto, for the competition; fig. bass .	2
		*Ditto, with ditto, for the Dec. examination; fig. bass	2
1840.		*Ditto, with ditto, for the June examination; fig. bass	2

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] OF THE CATALOGUE

The [illegible] works or sets of works, may be divided into the two great divisions of secular and sacred music, of which the first division takes 316 pieces and the second 114. Out of all the works only about 80 have been published. Cherubini composed 42 detached airs, 48 Romanzas, 36 Hymns, 27 Operas, 20 Antiphons, 15 Nocturns, 14 detached Arias, 14 Choruses, 14 Duets, 11 Masses, 11 Cantatas, 11 Marches, 11 Dances, 10 Sonatas, 9 Overtures, 7 Motets, 7 Pas redoubles, 6 instrumental Quartets, 5 detached Canons, 4 Litanies, 4 detached operatic Finales, 4 Recitatives, 4 sets of Solfeggi (in all over 140), 4 Rondos, 4 Odes, 3 detached Sanctus, 3 Psalms, 3 contributions to Pasticcios (not counting here small contributions to works), 3 fragmentary

[1] The numbers in Cherubini's Catalogue reach to 230.

compositions, 3 Ariettas, 2 Intermezzos, 2 Lamentations, 2 Madrigals, 2 vocal Quartets, 2 detached Credos, 2 Entr'actes, 2 Requiems, 2 Agnus Dei, 2 Glorias, 2 Album pieces, 2 War-songs, 2 Hautboy pieces, 2 Bassoon pieces, 2 Table pieces, 2 Introits, 2 Clarinet pieces, 1 Oratorio, 1 vocal Sextet, 1 Chaconne, 1 Canzonet, 1 Pianoforte capriccio, 1 Gradual, 1 Offertory, 1 Operatic introduction, 1 Chansonette, 1 instrumental Quintet, 1 Overture, 1 Symphony, 1 Ballet, 1 Minuet, 1 Pianoforte fantasia, a set of Canons, a set of Canzonets, a Course of Harmony, a chant for the Conservatoire vocalisation, a Collection of figured basses, Airs in Sarti's operas, the first Act of an unfinished opera, and Stanzas for the Duke of Angoulême. Total, 430.

ADDENDUM.

SOME works have been wrongly ascribed to Cherubini, such as Struntz's *Les Courses de Newmarket*, and an opera called *Isabelle*, lately spoken of in connection with some performances of *Les Deux Journées* to take place in Paris. Grétry, Pacini, Propiac, Champein, Blaise, Mengozzi, Anfossi, Fontana, Gandini, Raimondi, Ricci, Pedrotti, Generali, and Arieta have each written a work so entitled; but Clément (see *Dictionnaire Lyrique*) makes no mention of an *Isabelle* by Cherubini. Other works are so vaguely

alluded to as to raise a doubt as to their existence. Thus Fétis speaks of 'several operas' among Cherubini's juvenile works, and Denne-Baron says that Cherubini added 'religious pieces' to some of Sarti's works; this too in the year (1784) when both master and pupil almost simultaneously quitted Italy, the one for Russia, the other for England. The following compositions distinctly mentioned as Cherubini's are here recorded, with authorities:

1795? Hymne à la Victoire, words by Flins, sung at the Grand Opera. Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie Impériale.*

1796 Il Perruchiero, stated to be probably an adaptation from some old intermezzo. *Niederrheinische-Musik-Zeitung* notice. *Musical World* for 1862.

1799? Hymne funèbre sur la mort du Général Joubert, words by Chaussard, sung at the Grand Opera. Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie Impériale.* The general died in 1799.

1813 Chorus in *L'Oriflamme*, a pasticcio, in one act, by Méhul, Paër, Berton, and Kreutzer, performed at the Grand Opera, January 31, 1814. Picchianti and Gamucci. See *Notizie* and *Intorno.*

1816? Laudate Dominum, for four voices and orchestra. Hasslinger, Vienna. Denne-Baron, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1856. The Offertory of the Mass in C?

1816? Lauda, anima mea, Dominum, for soprano and orchestra. Diabelli (now Spina), Vienna. The same.

1816? O Deus, ego amo te, solo for alto, quartet, double bass. The same.

1816? Offertory in E flat. The same.

1816? Pater noster in G. Diabelli (now Spina), Vienna. The same as the well-known one, transposed? The same authority.

1816? Petite Messe de la Sainte Trinité sur les chants de l'Eglise, mesurée à trois voix avec orgue. Published by Simrock, Bonn.

Music copied by Cherubini's own hand, composed by various Composers.

1. Marcello's Psalms, vol. i. pp. 446; vol. ii. pp. 336; vol. iii. pp. 420; vol. iv. pp. 338.
2. Collection of Antonio Lotti's madrigals, with Tantum Ergo by Sacchini, and a Salve Regina for solo by Francesco Majo.
3. Latin pieces by various authors, with explanatory table, pp. 446.
4. Pergolese's Salve Regina and Cantata, pp. 120.
5. Three motets, by Pergolese, Jomelli, and Durante, pp. 172.
6. Clari's Duets and Trios, vol. i. pp. 92; vol. ii. pp. 102; vol. iii. pp. 124.
7. Pieces by Handel, Leo, Palestrina, and other religious composers, with a biographical notice of Handel at the beginning, by Cherubini, pp. 193.
8. Three pieces of Jomelli, and two of Durante. One of the last, pp. 24, is certainly copied by Cherubini, but the others are doubtful.
9. An oblong manuscript, with table, of Père Martini's canons, pp. 90.
10. Jomelli's Miserere, for two voices, pp. 104.
11. Giuseppe Sarti's 'Saggio superficiale sopra il principio della musica,' pp. 24.
12. Giuseppe Sarti's 'Compendio scientifico del canto fermo, o siâ de' toni ecclesiastici,' pp. 17.
13. Another oblong manuscript, entitled 'Esempii di Contrappunto rigoroso di varii autori,' pp. 61.

Duplicate Ms.

	Year.
Overture to *Crescendo*; full score, manuscript, pp. 25 .	—
Overture to *Faniska*, manuscript	—
Separate parts of the sixth quartet in A minor, manuscript, pp. 43	1811
1. Gradual, 'Propter veritatem,' the offertory in the Coronation Mass in A, pp. 11, for three voices; full score .	1825
2. Confirma hoc Deus, Mass in A, for chorus, pp. 21 printed	„
3. Marche Religieuse, with instruments, Mass in A „	„

Note.

In connection with the sale of Cherubini's manuscripts I venture to insert the following from the *Musical World* 1860, vol. xxxviii. p. 172:

"Those artists and amateurs who have a passion for works not printed or published of a great master will learn with pleasure that the compositions of the renowned composer Cherubini, the greatest contrapuntal writer that ever lived, are now for sale at Paris, by his widow, in manuscript, consisting, in his own handwriting, of overtures in score, masses, operas, sacred pieces, cantatas, orchestral pieces, quartets, quintets, solfeggi, &c. &c., comprising nearly three hundred works, composed between the year 1773 and 1841. Here is a field for musical societies, students, and directors of music, to produce novelties, and study the whole works hitherto known and printed, as patterns of excellence in every point of view, and held up as models of perfection to the student. The directors of the Philharmonic Societies, Musical Unions, and Sacred Harmonics, &c., should look after the works. They will find overtures, chamber-music, quartets, &c. never produced before the public, and what better name could they have than the renowned one of Cherubini to grace?' &c. &c.

We read in Cherubini's Catalogue, 'Les personnes qui desirent devenir acquéreurs pourront s'adresser à M. Petit, ancien éditeur, demeurant Rue St. Thomas du Louvre No. 13.'

A notice from Cherubini's widow also appeared in the *Musical Times* with reference to the sale. M. Girod expresses his regret at the dispersion of the MSS.

APPENDIX.

I.

THE following are copies of the official certificates of Cherubini's birth and baptism, for which I am indebted to Picchianti:

'Certificasi da me infrascritto ministro delle fedi di nascita che si conservano nel reggio uficio dell' Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, della città di Firenze, come nei registri di battezzati dell' Insigne Oratorio di San Giovan Battista, della sudetta città fra gli altri nomi apparisce l'appresso Luigi Carlo Zanobi Salvadore Maria, del signor Bartolomeo di Marco Cherubini, e della signora Verdiana di Filippo Bosi, nato il di quattordici settembri mille settecento sessanta, il primo minuto della mattina.' &c.

'Io infrascritto battezziere dell' insigne Basilica di San Giovan Battista di Firenze attesto essere stato battezzato a questo sacro fonte, il di quindici settembre mille settecento sessanta, un bambino figlio del sig. Bartolomeo di Marco Cherubini, e della signora Verdiana di Filippo Bosi, del popolo di San Pier maggiore, con i nomi di Luigi Carlo Zanobi Salvadore Maria.' &c.

More recently Gamucci obtained the following certificate, which confirms the above:

'Opera di S. M. del Fiore, Firenze,
30 Giugno 1869.

'Fede per me Ministro nell' Uffizio dell' Opera suddetta qualmente ai Registri dei Battezzati nell' Insigne Basilica di San Giovan Battista di questa città, che si conservano in questo Uffizio: apparisce essere stato battezzato a quel fonte, il di 15 settembre mille settecento sessanta, un bambino figlio del signor Bartolomeo di Marco Cherubini, e della signora Verdiana di Filippo Bosi, nato il di 14 settembre detto 1760, al primo minuto della mattina, nel popolo di San Pier Maggiore, a cui sono stati imposti i nomi di Luigi Carlo Zanobi Salvadore Maria.

Bollo a secco.) 'Il ministro, L. BOCCI.'

II.

The enormous length of the Mass in D minor will be seen at once by comparing it with some other masses of his own, and with Beethoven's:

Mass in D minor (1811)	Mass in F (1808)	Beethoven's Mass in D (1819)	Beethoven's Mass in C (1810)	Mass in G (Coronation) (1819)	Mass in A (Coronation) (1823)	Mass in C (1816)	Mass in B flat (1821)
Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars	Bars
Kyrie . . 437	220	225	131	Kyrie . . 101	117	133	57
Gloria . . 895	602	567	380	Gloria . . 503	339	279	145
Credo . . 668	632	468	370	Credo . . 435	400	348	193
Sanctus . 66	53	78	48	Sanctus & O Salutaris . 105	74	51	38
Benedictus 130	151	158	145		79	64	80
Agnus Dei . 367	371	433	182	Agnus Dei . 61	92	158	111
Total . 2563	2033	1929	1256	1205	1101	1033	524

It may be remarked from this table that Cherubini has written the longest Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo; Beethoven the longest Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei. Cherubini's Coronation Mass in A and Mass in C include offertories; but I have not included these, because the Offertory, being a prayer which varies in different masses, is left open for any composer, forming no part of most musical masses.

III.

Note of Cherubini relating to Copies of his second Requiem.

'Je, soussigné, reconnais avoir reçu la somme de *mille francs* pour le prix de cinquante exemplaires, à *vingt francs* chaque, de ma deuxième Messe de Requiem pour voix d'hommes [here follow some words scratched out].

'Paris, ce 12 Octobre 1837, pour acquit, L. CHERUBINI,

'Compositeur, membre de l'Institut, &c.'

The following letter was written by Cherubini to some friend about this time:

'Mon cher et ancien Ami,—J'avais été quelque temps sans

vous envoyer ce que je reçois à l'Institut, comme j'avais fait jusqu'à présent, pour faire un échange des annales des voyages que vous avez eu la complaisance de m'envoyer. Or comme j'ai une bonne recolte de pièce de l'Institut, je m'empresse de vous les adresser. Agrez, mon cher ami, la nouvelle assurance des sentiments d'estime et d'attachement de votre devoué

L. CHERUBINI.

'Paris, 10 Aug. 1836.'

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